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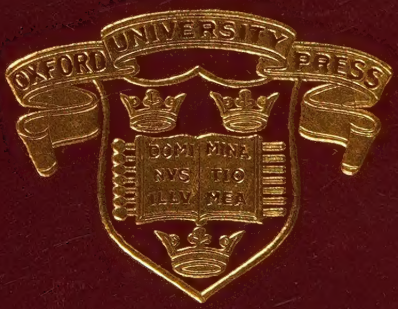

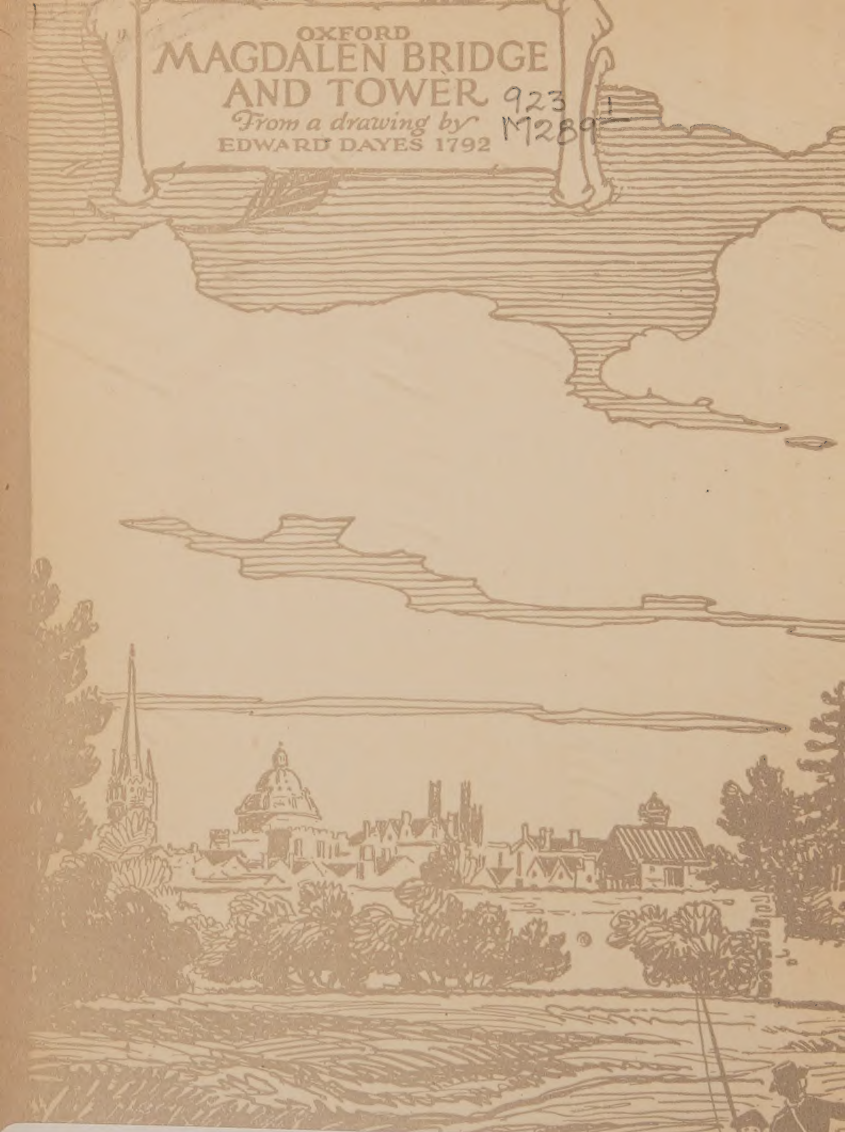

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THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

Founded by George N. Morang

W. L. Grant, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.D., Editor-in-Chief

Vol. I

CHAMPLAIN LAVAL

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SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN

From the painting by Humme

THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

Anniversary Edition

CHAMPLAIN

BY

N. E. DIONNE

Illustrated under the direction of A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt.D.
Deputy Minister, Public Archives of Canada

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE first edition of THE MAKERS OF CANADA was published in 1904 by George N. Morang of Toronto, under the general editorship of Duncan Campbell Scott and Professor Pelham Edgar. To this editorial board W. D. LeSueur was afterwards added. In 1911 appeared an Index Volume, which was really a Dictionary of Canadian History, and in 1916 a supplementary volume on Sir Charles Tupper.

Its publication marked a great advance in Canada both in the writing of history and in the making of books. Valuable work had already been done in Canadian history; but here for the first time was a series of twenty volumes written by scholars and covering our history from Champlain to Macdonald, and from Atlantic to Pacific. The artistic merit of the publication marked an even greater advance. Nearly all previous books produced in Canada had been marked by that indefinable something which we damn with the title of "provincial." Now for the first time in the history of Canada a set of books, printed and bound in a form worthy to rank with the best workmanship of Great Britain and the United States, had been carried to completion by Canadian workmen. The series well deserved its wide

sale, for it was the first to reveal in Canada a group of authors and a reading public which made possible publication on the grand scale.

From a literary and historical point of view the original volumes were for the most part adequate, and, in more than one case, brilliant. But "Time makes ancient good uncouth." Much has been done in the study of Canadian history during the past twenty years. Ottawa is now the Mecca of the Canadian historian. The great collections amassed there by Dr. Doughty render accessible to the historian, either in the original or in copies of scrupulous accuracy, not only all the public records, but the papers of many private families. In 1904 no Canadian history was taught in any English-speaking university, save in occasional sporadic lectures. To-day there are professors of Colonial History in Oxford and in London, and in every Canadian university the study of the history of our country is vigorously carried on. A group of young scholars has grown up which did not exist at the time of the planning of the series.

Thus when the Oxford University Press took over from Mr. Morang the plates of the original edition, and asked me to superintend the necessary revisions, I was not long in discovering that in some cases these would have to be extensive. That so many of the original volumes can be reissued with comparatively small change is a tribute to their authors. But it was obviously

imperative in 1925 to give more prominence to the West than in 1905, and to deal more adequately with the growth of Canada since the death in 1891 of Sir John Macdonald. The greatest thing in Canadian history between 1867 and 1914 was the winning of the West. This is told in two striking volumes, Mr. Vaughan's "SIR WILLIAM VAN HORNE," and Professor John Macnaughton's "LORD STRATHCONA." From the death of Macdonald to the outbreak of the Great War the most striking figure in our political life was Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Canada has no other author who combines literary skill, sanity of judgment, and an inside knowledge of great affairs as does Sir John Willison. He has revised his "LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER," originally published by G. N. Morang and Co. in 1903, and has added chapters bringing the story down to the death of Sir Wilfrid.

The perspective has been still further improved by omitting the life of William Lyon Mackenzie, which is now told in a section added to Professor Leacock's volume on BALDWIN, HINCKS, LAFONTAINE, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy of the University of Toronto, the eloquent and scholarly author of "*The Constitutional History of Canada.*" Mackenzie was an important and a vivid figure in the early history of Upper Canada. Eyes still flash and foreheads redden as men discuss whether at the great crisis he was rebel or patriot. But he was no more important than either Baldwin or

LaFontaine, and in the present series he stands as their equal, not as their superior.

Further study has set in a much clearer light the work of Bishop Laval and of Lord Elgin. The lives by M. Leblond de Brumath and Sir John Bourinot have therefore been set aside and new volumes commissioned. That of Laval is from the pen of the Abbé H. A. Scott of Ste. Foy, whose chapter in *Canada and its Provinces* on "The History of the Catholic Church in the Eastern Provinces after the Conquest" is so full of mingled erudition and charm, that we are confident no more suitable author for the volume could anywhere be found. Our view of Lord Elgin has been so vitally altered by such scholars as Professor J. L. Morison that Sir John Bourinot's volume has been replaced by one from the pen of Professor Kennedy.

Not only have these volumes been added to the series, but none of the first edition has been re-issued without a careful revision. The name of the reviser is given in a separate preface to each volume. May I express my sincere thanks not only to them, but also to Dr. George H. Locke of the Public Library of Toronto, who has given me unstintedly of his wise counsel and help.

Even if the original plates had not been in existence, no more artistic type could have been found for such a series than that which was cast in Scotland for the first edition, and from which

it was printed in Toronto by the Murray Printing Company. But in the past twenty years such improvements in the manufacture of paper have been made that it is now possible to publish the enlarged series in twelve volumes without increase of bulk or loss of artistic excellence.

W. L. GRANT

INTRODUCTION

IN undertaking to write a biography of Samuel Champlain, the founder of Quebec and the father of New France, our only design is to make somewhat better known the dominant characteristics of the life and achievements of a man whose memory is becoming more cherished as the years roll on.

Every one will admire Champlain's disinterested actions, his courage, his loyalty, his charity, and all those noble and magnificent qualities which are rarely found united in one individual in so prominent a degree. We cannot overpraise that self-abnegation which enabled him to bear without complaint the ingratitude of many of his interpreters, and the servants of the merchants; nor can we overlook, either, the charity which he exercised towards the aborigines and new settlers; the protection which he afforded them under trying circumstances, or his zeal in promoting the honour and glory of God, and his respect for the Récollet and Jesuit fathers who honoured him with their cordial friendship. His wisdom is evidenced in such a practical fact as his choice of Quebec as the capital of New France, despite the rival claims of Montreal and Three Rivers, and his numerous writings reveal him to us as a keen and sagacious

observer, a man of science and a skilful and intrepid mariner. As a cosmographer, Champlain added yet another laurel to his crown, for he excelled all his predecessors, both by the ample volume of his descriptions and by the logical arrangement of the geographical data which he supplied. The impetus which he gave to cartographical science can scarcely be overestimated.

Naturalist, mariner, geographer, such was Samuel Champlain, and to a degree remarkable for the age in which he lived. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to dwell upon the morality of the virtuous founder. The testimony of the Hurons, who, twenty years after his death, still pointed to the life of Champlain as a model of all Christian virtues, is sufficient, and it is certain that no governor under the old régime presented a more brilliant example of faith, piety, uprightness, or soundness of judgment. A brief outline of the character of Champlain has been given in order that the plan of this biography may be better understood. Let us now glance at his career more in detail.

Before becoming the founder of colonies, Champlain entered the French army, where he devoted himself to the religion of his ancestors. This was the first important step in his long and eventful career. A martial life, however, does not appear to have held out the same inducements as that of a mariner. An opportunity was presented which enabled him to gratify his tastes, when the Spanish government

sent out an armada to encounter the English in the Gulf of Mexico. Champlain was given the command of a ship in this expedition, but his experience during the war served rather as an occasion to develop his genius as a mariner and cosmographer, than to add to his renown as a warrior.

God, who in His providence disposes of the lives of men according to His divine wisdom, directed the steps of Champlain towards the shores of the future New France. If the mother country had not completely forgotten this land of ours, discovered by one of her greatest captains, she had, at least, neglected it. The honour of bringing the king's attention to this vast country, which was French by the right of discovery, was reserved for the modest son of Brouage.

While Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, was wasting his years and expending large sums of money in his fruitless efforts to colonize the island of Ste. Croix and Port Royal, Champlain's voyage to Acadia and his discovery of the New England coast were practically useful, and in consequence Champlain endeavoured to assure de Monts that his own efforts would be more advantageously directed to the shores of the St. Lawrence, for here it was obvious that the development of the country must commence.

Champlain's next step was to found Quebec. With this act began our colonial history, the foundation of a Canadian people with its long line

of heroic characters distinguished by their simplicity and by their adherence to the faith of their fathers. Quebec was founded, but nothing more was accomplished at the moment owing to the lack of means. The trials of Champlain now commenced. Day by day he had to contend against his own countrymen. The attractions of fur trading were too great for the merchants to induce them to settle down and develop the country around them, and they were unwilling to fulfil their promises or to act in accordance with the terms of their patents.

During the next twenty years Champlain crossed the ocean eighteen times. Each voyage was made in the interest of the colony, and he sought by every means in his power, by prayers and petitions, to obtain the control of the commerce of the country so as to make it beneficial to all. In spite of his extraordinary exertions and the force of his will, he foresaw the fatal issue of his labours.

The settlers were few in number, bread and provisions were scarce, and the condition of the infant colony was truly deplorable. At this distressing period a British fleet arrived in the harbour of Quebec. What was to be done? The rude fortress of St. Louis could not withstand the assault of an armed fleet, even if it were well defended. But Champlain had no ammunition, and he, therefore, adopted the only course open to him of capitulating and handing over the keys of the fort to the commander, Kirke. Champlain then left Quebec and

returned to France. Bitter was this journey to him, for it was like passing into exile to see the familiar heights of Quebec fade into the distance, the city of his foundation and the country of his adoption.

We have an idea of his sorrow during the three years that England maintained supremacy in Canada, for he says that the days were as long as months. During his enforced sojourn in France, Champlain exerted all his energies to revive interest in the abandoned colony. His plan was to recover the country by all means. Finally success crowned his efforts, and the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye gave back to France the young settlement. Champlain recrossed the sea and planted the lily banner of France upon the heights of Cape Diamond.

In the year 1635 Champlain was taken ill, and died on Christmas Day, after having devoted forty years of his life to the promotion of the religion and commercial interests of the land of his ancestors, but he bequeathed to the Canadian people the priceless heritage of Quebec, and the memory of a pure and honest heart.

Before Champlain's death, however, Quebec had commenced to develop. On the Beauport coast might be seen the residences of many of the settlers who arrived from the province of Perche in 1634. On the shores of the river Lairet, the Jesuits had built a convent, where the young Indians received instruction; and agriculture had received some attention. Robert Giffard had established a colony at

Beauport which formed the nucleus of a population in this section of the country. Near Fort St. Louis the steeple of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance gave witness that Champlain had fulfilled his promise to build a church at Quebec if the country was restored to her ancient masters.

The colony was now entering upon an era of prosperity, and that harmony and happiness which Champlain had longed for in his life, and which occupied his thoughts even in death, were destined to be realized.

N. E. D.

INTRODUCTION

Note by the Reviser

Very little has been added to our knowledge of Champlain's life since the first appearance of this biography. The main task of the reviser therefore has been to correct errors of fact or of translation, since much of the volume was first written in French, and to ensure that nothing material to the presentation of Champlain's career has been omitted. I have also added references to such English translations of Champlain's works as exist, notably to that now in course of publication by the Champlain Society. I have not attempted to modify the general point of view manifested in the biography, save where alteration seemed necessary for the true presentation of facts. Nor have I interfered with the structure or arrangement of the book, since to do this would mean writing a new biography.

RALPH FLENLEY

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CHAPTER I

CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, the issue of the marriage of Antoine Champlain and Marguerite Le Roy, was born at Brouage, now Hiers Brouage, a small village in the province of Saintonge, France, in the year 1570, or according to the *Biographie Sanitingeoise* in 1567.

We know practically nothing of Champlain's years in one of the most troublous periods in the history of France, that of the wars of religion. His youth appears to have glided quietly away, spent for the most part with his family, and in assisting his father, who was a mariner, in his wanderings upon the sea. The knowledge thus obtained was of great service to him, for after a while he became not only conversant with the life of a mariner, but also with the science of geography and of astronomy. When Samuel Champlain was about twenty years of age, he tendered his services to Marshal d'Aumont, one of the chief commanders of the Catholic army in its expedition against the Huguenots.

When the war was finished and the army was disbanded in 1598, Champlain returned to Brouage, and sought a favourable opportunity to advance his fortune in a manner more agreeable, if

possible, to his tastes, and more compatible with his abilities. In the meantime Champlain did not remain idle, for he resolved to find the means of making a voyage to Spain in order "to acquire and cultivate acquaintance," and, by a voyage to New Spain, to "make a true report to His Majesty (Henry IV) of the particularities which could not be known to any Frenchmen, for the reason that they have not free access there." He left Blavet at the beginning of the month of August, and ten days later he arrived near Cape Finisterre. Having remained for six days at the Isle of Bayona, in Galicia, he proceeded towards San Lucar de Barameda, which is at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, where he remained for three months. During this time he went to Seville and made surveys of the place. While Champlain was at Seville, *a patache*, or advice boat, arrived from Porto Rico bearing a communication addressed to the king of Spain, informing him that an English expedition had put out to sea with the intention of attacking Porto Rico. The king fitted out twenty ships to oppose the English, one of them, the *Saint Julien*, was commanded by Provençal, Champlain's uncle. Champlain proposed to join the expedition under his uncle, but the fleet did not go. Provençal was ordered elsewhere, and General Soubriago offered the command of the *Saint Julien* to Champlain, in the fleet gathered for the yearly voyage to the New World.

The armada set sail in the beginning of January, 1599, and within six days, favoured by a fresh breeze, the vessels sighted the Canary Islands. Two months and six days later the armada drew near to the island called La Désirade, which is the first island approached in this passage to the Indies. The ships anchored for the first time at Nacou, which is one of the finest ports of the Guadeloupe. After having passed Marguerite Island and the Virgins, Champlain proceeded to San Juan de Porto Rico,[1] where he found that both the town and the castle or fortress had been abandoned, and that the merchants had either made their escape or had been taken prisoners. The English army had left the town and had taken the Spanish governor with them, as he had surrendered on the condition that his life should be spared.

On leaving Porto Rico the general divided the galleons into three squadrons, and retained four vessels under his own command. Three were sent to Porto Bello, and three, including Champlain's vessel, to New Spain. Champlain arrived at Saint Jean de Luz, fully four hundred leagues from

[1] This island is only forty leagues in length and twenty in breadth, and belonged to the Spanish from the date of its discovery by Ponce de Léon in 1509, to 1598. When Champlain visited the island it had been taken by George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. During the same year Sir John Berkeley commanded, but being unable to remain there, he deserted the place, and joined Clifford near the Azores, when both went to England, having lost about seven hundred men during their expedition.

Porto Rico. This place later was given the name of San Juan d'Ulloa. Fifteen days afterwards we find Champlain setting out for Mexico, situated at a distance of two hundred miles from San Juan.

Champlain was evidently very much interested in this country, and his description is that of an enthusiast: "It is impossible to see or desire a more beautiful country than this kingdom of New Spain, which is three hundred leagues in length and two hundred in breadth. . . . The whole of this country is ornamented with very fine rivers and streams . . . the land is very fertile, producing corn twice in the year . . . the trees are never devoid of fruit and are always green." The journey to Mexico occupied a month and Champlain gave an animated description of the city of Mexico, of its superb palaces, temples, houses and buildings, and well laid streets, as well as of the surrounding country.

After leaving Mexico, Champlain returned to San Juan de Luz, and from there sailed in a *patache* to Porto Bello, "the most evil and unhealthy residence in the world." The harbour, however, was good and well fortified. From Porto Bello to Panama, which is on the sea, the distance is only seventeen leagues, and it is interesting to read Champlain's description:—

"One may judge that if the four leagues of land which there are from Panama to this river were cut

through, one might pass from the South Sea to the ocean on the other side, and thus shorten the route by more than fifteen hundred leagues; and from Panama to the Straits of Magellan would be an island, and from Panama to the New-found-lands would be another island, so that the whole of America would be in two islands."

It is thus seen that the idea of connecting the Atlantic ocean with the Pacific by cutting through the Isthmus of Panama is not a modern one, as it was promulgated by Champlain over three hundred years ago.

At this time Spain was in great need of a good transportation service at the isthmus. The treasures of Peru were sent to Europe by the Panama route to Porto Bello, from where the ships sailed to the old continent. The route between the Pacific coast and the Gulf of Mexico was exceedingly bad. Sometimes the merchants forwarded European goods to Panama, having them transported to Chagres. Here they were landed in boats and conveyed to Cruces. From Cruces to Panama mules were employed for the remainder of the journey. It was, however, the route taken by travellers visiting Peru, Chili, New Granada, Venezuela, and other Spanish possessions on the Pacific coast. The most regular connection between the two oceans was from Fort Acapulco to Vera Cruz, through Mexico. If Spain had adopted a better line of communication with her western territories in the New World

she might have derived vast treasure from that source. In the year 1551 Lopez de Gomara, the author of a "History of Indies," a work written with care and displaying considerable erudition, proposed to unite the two oceans by means of canals at three different points, Chagres, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec. Gomara's proposals were not acted upon, and the honour of designing the project was reserved for France. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who succeeded in connecting the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, was the man who, after the lapse of centuries, seriously interested his fellow-countrymen in boring the Isthmus of Panama.

Champlain returned to San Juan de Luz, where he remained for fifteen days, and he then proceeded to Havana, the rendezvous of the army and of the fleet. Eighteen days later he embarked in a vessel bound for Cartagena, where there was a good port, sheltered from all winds. Upon his return to Havana Champlain met his general and spent four months in collecting valuable information relating to the interesting island of Cuba. From Havana he proceeded past the Bahama channel, approached Bermuda Island, Terceira, one of the Azores, and sighted Cape St. Vincent, where he captured two armed English vessels, which were taken to Seville.

Champlain returned to France in March, 1601, having been absent on his first voyage for a period of two years and two months, during which time he collected much valuable information. He also wrote

a small volume containing plans, maps and engravings, fairly well executed for the time. The manuscript of this volume is still preserved; it covers one hundred and fifteen pages with sixty-two drawings, coloured and surrounded with blue and yellow lines. It appears to have been written between 1601 and 1603.[1]

The first voyage of Champlain across the Atlantic, though important from a military standpoint, did not suffice to satisfy the ambition of a man whose thoughts were bent upon discovery and colonization. Champlain was a navigator by instinct, and in his writings he gave to nautical science the first place.

"Of all the most useful and excellent arts," he writes, "that of navigation has always seemed to me to occupy the first place. For the more hazardous it is, the greater the perils and losses by which it is attended, so much the more is it esteemed and exalted above all others, being wholly unsuited to

[1] This volume is entitled *Brief Discours des choses plus remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brouage A reconneues aux Indes Occidentalles Au voiage qu'il en a faict icelles en l'année* VeIIIJ. XXIX, *et en l'année* VIeJ, *comme ensuit.*

This manuscript was discovered by M. Féret, antiquarian, poet and librarian, of Dieppe. The Hakluyt Society had it translated in 1859, and published at London. In 1870 the Reverend Laverdière, librarian of the Laval University, of Quebec, had it printed in French, with the designs, coloured for the most part, with the complete works of Champlain. It is also printed (with translation) in the Champlain Society's edition of *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by H. P. Biggar: Toronto, 1922. This manuscript is supposed to have been preserved by a collateral descendant of Aymar de Chastes.

the timid and irresolute. By this art we obtain a knowledge of different countries, regions and realms. By it we attract and bring to our own land all kinds of riches; by it the idolatry of Paganism is over-thrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth. This is the art which won my love in my early years and induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and led me to explore the coasts of a portion of America, especially those of New France, where I have always desired to see the lily flourish, together with the only religion, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman."

After his return to France in the year 1601, Champlain received a pension, together with the appointment of geographer to the king. Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de Tontuit, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to establish a settlement at Tadousac, died at this time, while Champlain was residing in Paris. Here he had the good fortune to meet Aymar de Chastes, governor of the town and château of Dieppe, under whose orders he had served during the latter years of the war with the League.

De Chastes, who had resolved to undertake the colonization of Canada, obtained a commission from the king, and formed a company, composed of several gentlemen and the principal merchants of Rouen. François Gravé, Sieur du Pont, who had already accompanied Chauvin to Tadousac, was

chosen to return there and to examine the Sault St. Louis and the country beyond.

"Going from time to time to see the Sieur de Chastes," writes Champlain, "judging that I might serve him in his design, he did me the honour to communicate something of it to me, and asked me if it would be agreeable to me to make the voyage, to examine the country, and to see what those engaged in the undertaking should do. I told him that I was very much his servant, but that I could not give myself license to undertake the voyage without the commands of the king, to whom I was bound, as well by birth as by the pension with which His Majesty honoured me to enable me to maintain myself near his person, but that, if it should please him to speak to the king about it, and give me his commands, that it should be very agreeable to me, which he promised and did, and received the king's orders for me to make the voyage and make a faithful report thereof; and for that purpose M. de Gesvres, secretary of his commandments, sent me with a letter to the said Du Pont-Gravé, desiring him to take me in his ship and enable me to see and examine what could be done in the country, giving me every possible assistance."

"*Me violà expédié*," says Champlain, "I leave Paris and take passage on Pont-Gravé's ship in the year 1603, the 15th of the month of March." The voyage was favourable for the first fifteen days, but

on the 30th a heavy storm arose, "more thunder than wind," which lasted until April 16th. On May 6th the vessel approached Newfoundland, and arrived at Tadousac[1] on the 24th. Here they met with about one hundred Indians, under the command of Anadabijou, who were rejoicing on account of their recent victory over the Iroquois. The chief made a long harangue, speaking slowly. He congratulated himself upon his friendship with the French nation, and stated that he was happy to learn that the king was anxious to send some of his subjects to reside in the country and to assist them in their wars. Champlain was also informed that the Etchemins, the Algonquins, and the Montagnais, to the number of about one thousand, had lately been engaged in warfare with the Iroquois, whom they had vanquished with the loss of one hundred men.

On June 9th following, Champlain witnessed the spectacle of a grand feast given by the Indians in commemoration of their victory. The celebration consisted of dances, songs, speeches and games. Tessouat, the *sagamo* of the Ottawas, was the chief captain, and took a prominent part in the demonstration.

After a long description of these public festivities, Champlain gives ample details of the manners

[1] Tadousac means *breast*, and is derived from the Montagnais *Totouchac*. Father Jérôme Lalemant says that the Indians called the place *Sadilege*.

and customs of the Indians, especially of their superstitions. The Indians believed that a God existed who was the creator of all things, but they had a curious manner of explaining the creation of man. "When God had made everything," they said, "He took a quantity of arrows and fixed them in the earth, whence came men and women, who have increased ever since." The *sagamo* said they believed in the existence of a God, a son, a mother and a sun; that God was the greatest of the four; that the son and the sun were both good; that the mother was a lesser person, and of no value; the father was none too good.

The Indians were convinced that their deity had held communication with their ancestors. One day five Indians ran towards the setting sun where they met God, who asked them, "Where are you going?" "We are going to seek a living," they replied. Then God said, "You will find it here." But they did not hear the divine word, and went away. Then God took a stone and touched two of them, and they were immediately turned into stones. Addressing the three other Indians, God asked the same question, "Where are you going?" and He was given the same answer. "Do not go further," said the divine voice, "you will find your living here." Seeing nothing, however, they continued their journey. Then God took two sticks and touched two of them, and they were at once turned into sticks. The fifth Indian, however, paused, and God

gave him some meat, which he ate, and he afterwards returned to his countrymen.

These Indian tribes had their jugglers, whom they called *pilotois*, from the Basques, or *autmoins*, which means a magician. These jugglers exercised great sway over the Indians, who would not hesitate to kill a Frenchman if the jugglers decided that it was necessary.

In spite of their superstitions Champlain believed that it would be an easy task to convert the Indians to Christianity, especially if the French resided near them. This desirable end was not to be attained without great difficulty, as Champlain soon realized, for the missionaries toiled for many years before their efforts were crowned with success.

Champlain now proceeded to explore the river Saguenay for a distance of twelve to fifteen leagues, and he thus describes the scenery:—

"All the land I have seen is composed of rocks, covered with fir woods, cypress, birch, very unpleasing land, where I could not find a league of level land on each side." He also learned from the Indians of the existence of Lake St. John, and of a salt sea away towards the north. It was evidently Hudson Bay to which these northern tribes directed Champlain's attention, and if they had not seen it themselves they had probably heard of its existence from the Indians dwelling around the southern or south-western shores of the bay, who

came annually to Nemiscau Lake to trade their furs. This lake was half way between Hudson Bay and the river St. Lawrence. The Kilistinons and other Indians of the north had regular communication with their *congénères* scattered along the shores of the St. Maurice and the several rivers which flow into Lake St. John.

When the French arrived in Canada with Chauvin, in the year 1600, they began to monopolize the fur trade of all the Indian nations, but some years later the English established themselves on the shores of Hudson Bay, and prosecuted the trade for their own benefit.

Champlain could not, evidently, have been in possession of any exact information as to the existence of this large bay, as he was searching for a northern passage to Cathay, the great *desideratum* of all the navigators and explorers of the time.

After having promised to aid the various tribes gathered at Tadousac in their wars, Champlain and Pont-Gravé proceeded to Sault St. Louis. This expedition lasted fifteen days, in which they reached Hare Island, so named by Jacques Cartier, and the Island of Orleans. The ship anchored at Quebec where Champlain stopped to make a short investigation of the country watered by the St. Lawrence, and they then proceeded to Sault St. Louis. Here Champlain gathered much valuable information relating to lakes Ontario and Erie, the Detroit River, Niagara Falls, and the rapids of the St. Lawrence.

Returning to Tadousac, he determined to explore Gaspesia, and proceeded to visit Percé and Mal Bay, where he met Indians at every turn. He also was informed by Prévert, from St. Malo, who was exploring the country, of the existence of a copper mine.

Champlain carefully noted all the information he had received, and after his return to Tadousac he sailed again for France on August 16th, 1603, and reached Havre de Grâce, after a passage of thirty-five days. On his arrival in France, he heard that Aymar de Chastes had died a few weeks previously, on August 13th. This was a great loss to Canada, and especially to Champlain, for he was convinced that the noble and enterprising de Chastes was seriously disposed to colonize New France. "In this enterprise," he says, "I cannot find a single fault, because it has been well inaugurated." With the death of de Chastes, the project of colonizing would undoubtedly have fallen through had not Champlain been present to promote another movement in this direction. Champlain had an interview with the king, and presented him with a map of the country which he had visited, and placed in his hands a relation of his voyage.[1] Henry IV was so favourably im-

[1] This volume is entitled *Des Sauvages ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brouage, fait en la Nouvelle France, l'an mil six cent trois . . . . A Paris . . . 1604.*

Extremely rare. Copies are to be found in the British Museum,

pressed that he promised to assist Champlain in his patriotic designs.

the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève at Paris.

This volume contains a dedication to Charles de Montmorency, admiral of France, a letter in verse from the Sieur de la Franchise, and an extract from the *Privilège du Roi*, dated November 15th, 1603, signed by Brigard.

The second edition does not differ much from the preceding, and its title bears the date 1604. Purchas's *Pilgrims* contains an English version of this last edition. We find a synopsis of it in the *Mercure François*, 1609, in the preface to the former called *Chronologie Septennaire de l'Histoire de la paix entre les rois de France et d'Espagne, 1598-1608*. This historical part has been borrowed by Victor Palma Cayet for Champlain's Voyage, and its title is: *Navigation des Français en la Nouvelle France dite Canada*.

The *Des Sauwages* is reprinted, from the original texts, and with the addition of an English translation by H. H. Langton, in vol i. of the Champlain Society's edition of *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by H. P. Biggar: Toronto, 1922.

CHAPTER II

ACADIA—STE. CROIX ISLAND—PORT ROYAL

SOON after the period mentioned at the close of the previous chapter, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, Governor of Pons, a native of the ancient province of Saintonge, who had served under Henry IV, obtained a commission as "Lieutenant genéral au pays de Cadie, du 40° au 46°," on the condition that his energies should be especially directed to the propagation of the Catholic faith.

De Monts was a Huguenot; nevertheless he agreed to take with him to America a number of Catholic priests, and to see that they were respected and obeyed. Champlain was not satisfied with the choice of a Protestant to colonize a country which he had intended to make solely Catholic, and he states, "that those enterprises made hastily never succeed."

De Monts was not a stranger to America. He had first visited the country with Chauvin in 1600, but when he left Tadousac he was so discouraged that he determined, in the event of his becoming master of the situation, to attempt colonization only in Acadia, or on the eastern borders of the continent running towards Florida.

It was well known in France that Acadia was

the richest and most fertile part of the New World. Excellent harbours and good soil were found there. Fish abounded near its coasts; its forests were numerous and dense. An opinion existed that there were numerous mines, rich in copper, coal and gypsum. This country was also the favourite of the Normans, Bretons and Basques, who for a hundred years had pursued their callings as fishermen or traders without interruption.

De Monts, however, was unable to bear the expense of this undertaking alone, and he consequently formed a company, composed of merchants of Rouen, La Rochelle and other towns. To further the enterprise Henry IV diminished the duty on merchandises exported from Acadia and Canada, and granted to the company the exclusive privilege of fur trading for a period of ten years, "from Cape de Raze to the 40°, comprising all the Acadian coast, Cape Breton, Baie des Chaleurs, Percé Island, Gaspé, Chisedec, Miramichi, Tadousac and Canada River, from either side, and all the bays and rivers which flow within these shores."

Acadia of that day was not confined to the peninsula of our own time, called Nova Scotia. It included that part of the continent which extends from the river St. John to the Penobscot. These boundaries were the cause of long quarrels and fierce and bloody wars between England and France until they were finally settled by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the early part of April, 1604, the king's proc-

lamation confining the fur trade to de Monts and his associates was published in every harbour of France. Four ships were lying at anchor at Havre de Grâce, ready to sail, and one hundred and twenty passages had been secured in two of the ships. Pont-Gravé commanded one of the vessels of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, and another vessel of one hundred and fifty tons was under the charge of de Monts, who had taken on board Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, a gentleman of Picardy, Samuel Champlain, some Catholic priests and some Protestant ministers. Poutrincourt was going to America with the intention of residing there with his family. He was a good Catholic and a loyal subject. Champlain was attached to de Monts' expedition as geographer and historian.

The rendezvous had been fixed at Canseau, but de Monts proceeded directly to Port au Mouton on the Acadian coast, where he decided to await the arrival of Pont-Gravé. In the meantime Champlain explored the country from Port au Mouton to Port Sainte Marguerite, now called St. Mary's Bay. This occupied a whole month. He also named Cape Négré, Cape Fourchu and Long Island. Champlain reported to de Monts that St. Mary's Bay was a suitable place to establish a settlement, and, following this advice, the lieutenant-general proceeded with Champlain to this bay, and further explored the Bay of Fundy, or French Bay. They soon perceived the entrance to another splendid port,

which is now known as Annapolis Bay, or Port Royal.

Notwithstanding the authority of Lescarbot, Champlain was the first to give this place the name of Port Royal, for he says himself, "I have named this harbour Port Royal." When de Monts named the place La Baie Française, Champlain did not hesitate to give to his chief the credit which he deserved.

Three rivers flow into this splendid harbour: the Rivière de l'Equille, so called from a little fish of the size of our *éperlan* or *lançon*, which is found there in large quantities; the river named St. Antoine by Champlain, and a stream called de la Roche by Champlain, and de l'Orignac by Lescarbot.

After having explored the harbour, Champlain traversed La Baie Française to see whether he could discover the copper mine mentioned by Prévert of St. Malo, and he soon arrived at a place which he named the Cape of Two Bays, or Chignecto, and perceived the High Islands, where a copper mine was found.

On May 20th an expedition started from the Port of Mines, in search of a place suitable for a permanent settlement. Proceeding towards the south-west they stopped at the entrance of a large river, which was named St. John, as it was on St. John's day that they arrived there. The savages called the river Ouigoudi. "This river is danger-

ous," writes Champlain, "if one does not observe carefully certain points and rocks on the two sides. It is so narrow at its entrance and then becomes broader. A certain point being passed it becomes narrower again, and forms a kind of fall between two large cliffs, where the water runs so rapidly that a piece of wood thrown in is drawn under and not seen again. But by waiting till high tide you can pass this fall very easily. Then it expands again to the extent of about a league in some places where there are three islands."

Champlain did not explore the river further, but he ascertained a few days later that the Indians used the river in their journeys to Tadousac, making but a short portage on the way.

As preparations had shortly to be made for winter quarters, de Monts decided to proceed southwards, and the party at length came to a number of islands at the entrance of the river Ste. Croix, or Des Etchemins. One of these islands was chosen for their establishment, and named Ste. Croix, "because," says Lescarbot, "they perceived two leagues above this island two streams flowing into the channel of the river, presenting the appearance of a cross." De Monts at once commenced to fortify the place by forming a barricade on a little islet, which served as a station on which he set up a cannon; it was situated halfway between the mainland and the island of Ste. Croix. Some days afterwards all the French who were waiting in St. Mary's Bay disem-

barked on the island. They were all eager and willing to work, and commenced to render the place habitable. They erected a storehouse and a residence for de Monts, and built an oven and a hand-mill for grinding wheat. Some gardens were also laid out, and various kinds of seeds were sown, which flourished well on the mainland, though not on the island, which was too sandy.

De Monts was anxious to ascertain the location of a mine of pure copper which had been spoken of, and accordingly he despatched Champlain, with a savage named Messamouet, who asserted that he could find the place. At about eight leagues from the island, near the river St. John, they found a mine of copper, which, however, was not pure, though fairly good. According to the report of the miner, it would yield about eighteen per cent. Lescarbot says that amidst the rocks, diamonds and some blue and clear stones could be found as precious as turquoises. Champdoré, one of the carpenters, took one of these stones to France, and had it divided into many fragments and mounted by an artist. De Monts and Poutrincourt, to whom they were presented, considered these gems so valuable that they offered them to the king. A goldsmith offered Poutrincourt fifteen crown pieces for one of them.

Agriculture did not flourish on the island of Ste. Croix, which is about half a league in circumference. The rays of the sun parched the sand so that

the gardens were entirely unproductive, and there was a complete dearth of water. At the commencement there was a fair quantity of wood, but when the buildings were finished there was scarcely any left; the inhabitants, consequently, nearly perished from cold in the winter. All the liquor, wine and beer became frozen, and as there was no water the people were compelled to drink melted snow. A malignant epidemic of scurvy broke out, and of seventy-nine persons thirty-five died from the disease and more than twenty were at the point of death.

This disease proved one of the obstacles to rapid colonization in New France. It was epidemic, contagious and often fatal. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the epidemic was prevalent amongst the French only when they were established on the soil, being rarely discovered on ship-board. Jacques Cartier had experienced the horrors of this disease in the winter of 1535-6, when out of his one hundred and ten men twenty-five died, and only three or four remained altogether free from attack. During the year 1542-3, Roberval saw fifty persons dying of the disease at Charlesbourg Royal. At Ste. Croix the proportion of deaths was still greater, thirty-five out of seventy-nine. There was a physician attached to de Monts' party, but he did not understand the disease, and therefore could not satisfactorily prescribe for it. De Monts also consulted many physicians in Paris, but he did not receive answers that were of much service to him.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century scientific men distinguished scurvy on land from scurvy on sea. They laboured under the false impression that the one differed from the other. Champlain called the disease *mal de terre*. It is certain, however, that the symptoms did not vary in either case, as we may ascertain from the descriptions furnished by Jacques Cartier and Champlain.

The position of the settlement was soon proved to be untenable, and de Monts was certainly to blame for this unhappy state of affairs. Why did he abandon Port Royal, where he had found abundant water? Champlain, however, defends the action of his chief.

"It would be very difficult," he says, "to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it, for, on arriving here in summer, everything is very agreeable in consequence of the woods, fine country, and the many varieties of good fish which are found." We must not forget, however, that the climate of this island differed very little from that of Tadousac, which had greatly disappointed de Monts, and that his sole object in settling in a more southern latitude was to avoid the disagreeable consequences of the climate.

Champlain made a plan of the island of Ste. Croix, indicating the buildings constructed for the habitation of the settlers. We observe many isolated

LANDING OF JACQUES CARTIER AT STADACONA, 1535

From the painting by A. Suzor Coté

tenements forming a large square. On one side was the residence of Champlain, of Champdoré and d'Orville, with a large garden opposite. Near d'Orville's residence was a small building set apart for the missionaries. On the other side may be seen the storehouse, de Monts' dwelling, a public hall where the people spent their leisure, and a building for Boulay and the workmen. In an angle of the large square were the residences of Genestou, Sourin, de Beaumont, La Motte, Bourioli and Fougeray. A small fort is shown at one end of the island, approached by a pathway. The chapel of the priest Aubry was located near the cannon of the fort. Such was the plan of the first Acadian settlement. Much expense had been incurred for a very poor result.

De Monts was the directing spirit of the colony, and in spite of his noble attempts, he realized that his efforts were fruitless and that he would have to try another place for a permanent settlement. By the direction of his chief, Champlain accordingly had already explored the seacoast of Norumbega.

De Monts has found a defender in Moreau, who held that Ste. Croix was only intended for winter quarters. If this had been his intention, we can scarcely believe that he would have incurred so great an expense in building a number of houses. Lescarbot, whose testimony is most valuable, says: "When we go into a country to take possession of

land we don't stop on islands to imprison ourselves. If that island had been supplied with rivers or streams, if the soil had been favourable to agriculture, it would have been half wrong." But this island lacked the very first element essential to life, fresh water.

Towards the middle of May, 1605, every one's attention was directed towards France, as the ships which had been expected for over a month had not yet arrived. De Monts then determined to send his party to Gaspé in two large boats to get passage to France. At this juncture, however, Pont-Gravé arrived at Ste. Croix with his crew, comprising forty men.

De Monts and Pont-Gravé held a consultation and decided to seek a more suitable place for a settlement, rather than to return to France. De Monts was still under the impression that the best plan was to attempt to settle in the vicinity of Florida, although the result of Champlain's exploration along the coast of the Norumbega[1] was considered unsatisfactory.

Let us now examine what Champlain had accomplished during the month of September, 1604.

He left Ste. Croix on September 5th, in a *patache*, with twelve sailors and two savages as

[1] Norumbega was the name applied at that time to a vast tract of country whose limits were nearly unknown. There was a river and a cape called Norumbega. The river is now the Penobscot, and the cape is the southern extremity of the Acadian peninsula.

guides. On the first day he covered twenty-five leagues and discovered many islands, reefs and rocks. To another island, four or five leagues in length, he gave the name of Ile des Monts Déserts,[1] which name has been preserved. On the following day Champlain met some hunting Indians of the Etchemin tribe, proceeding from the Pentagouet River to Mount Desert Island. "I think this river," says Champlain, "is that which several pilots and historians call Norumbega, and which most have described as large and extensive, with very many islands, its mouth being in latitude 43°, 43′, 30″. . . . It is related also that there is a large, thickly-settled town of savages, who are adroit and skilful, and who have cotton yarn. I am confident that most of those who mention it have not seen it, and speak of it because they have heard persons say so, who know no more about it than they themselves. . . . But that any one has ever entered it there is no evidence, for then they would have described it in another manner, in order to relieve the minds of many of this doubt."

Champlain's description is written from personal

[1] The Indians called this island *Pemetig*, which means *the island which is ahead*. The French settled here in 1613, and founded St. Sauveur on the north-eastern coast, in a splendid harbour which is to-day known as Bar Harbour. The remains of many of the French who were killed during the contest with the English, were interred at Point Fernald. At the point nearest the mainland there is a bridge of seven hundred feet in length, which communicates with the town of Trenton.

knowledge, because he had seen the Pentagouet River.[1] The country which it passes through is agreeable, but there was no town or village, and no appearance of either, with the exception of a few deserted cabins of the Souriquois or Micmacs.

Here Champlain met two Souriquois chiefs, Bessabé and Cabahis, and succeeded in making them understand that he had been sent by de Monts to visit their country, and to assure them of the friendship of the French for the Souriquois. Champlain continued his journey southwards, and two days later he again met Cabahis, of whom he asked particulars as to the source of the river Norumbega. The chief replied " that past the falls already mentioned, and after passing some further distance up the river, it widens into a lake, by way of which the Indians pass to the river Ste. Croix, by going some distance overland and then entering the river Etchemin. Another river also enters the lake, along which they proceed for some days until they gain another lake and pass through it. Reaching the end of it they again make a land journey of some distance until they reach another small river, the mouth of which is within a league of Quebec." This little river is the Chaudière, which the Indians follow to reach Quebec. On

[1] Champlain called the river *Peimtegoüet*. This word means *the place of a river where rapids exist*. The English have given their preference to the word *Penobscot*, which comes from the Indian *Penaouasket, the place where the earth is covered with stones.*

September 20th Champlain observed the mountains of Bedabedec, and after having proceeded for ten or twelve leagues further he decided to return to Ste. Croix and wait until the following year to continue his explorations. His opinion was that the region he had explored was quite as unfavourable for a settlement as Ste. Croix.

On June 18th, 1605, de Monts, at the head of an expedition consisting of Champlain, some gentlemen, twelve sailors and an Indian guide named Panounias and his wife, set out from the island of Ste. Croix to explore the country of the Almouchiquois, and reached the Pentagouet River in twelve days. On July 1st they made about twenty leagues between Bedabedec Point and the Kennebec River, at the mouth of which is an island which they named *La Tortue* (Segelen Island).

Continuing their journey towards the south they observed some large mountains, the abode of an Indian chief named Aneda. "I was satisfied from the name," says Champlain, "that he was one of his tribe that had discovered the plant called *aneda*, which Jacques Cartier said was so powerful against the malady called scurvy, which harassed his company as well as our own when they wintered in Canada. The savages have no knowledge at all of this plant, and are not aware of its existence, although the above mentioned savage has the same name." This supposition was unfounded, because if this Indian had been of the same origin as the

aborigines who acquainted Jacques Cartier with the virtue of the *aneda* plant in cases of scruvy, he would have understood the meaning of the word. *Aneda* is the Iroquois word for the spruce tree, but there is no evidence to prove that Champlain was ever aware that it was a specific. Had he known of its efficacy he would have certainly employed it.

At Chouacoet de Monts and Champlain received visits from many Indians, differing entirely from either the Etchemins or the Souriquois. They found the soil tilled and cultivated, and the corn in the gardens was about two feet in height. Beans, pumpkins and squash were also in flower. The place was very pleasant and agreeable at the time, but Champlain believed the weather was very severe in the winter.

The party proceeded still further south, in sight of the Cap aux Iles (Cape Porpoise), and on July 17th, 1605, they came to anchor at Cape St. Louis[1] (Brant Point), where an Indian chief named Honabetha paid them a visit. To a small river which they found in the vicinity they gave the name of Gua, in honour of de Monts. The expedition passed the night of the 18th in a small bay called Plymouth Harbour. On the 19th they observed the cape of a large bay, which they distinguished by the title of Ste. Suzanne du Cap Blanc (Cape Cod), and on

[1] The Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of New England, landed near this place, which they named Plymouth, to preserve the name of the English city from which they had sailed.

July 20th they entered a spacious harbour, which proved to be very dangerous on account of shoals and banks; they therefore named it Mallebarre.

Five weeks had now elapsed since the expedition had left Ste. Croix, and no incident of importance had occurred. They had met many tribes of Indians, and on each occasion their intercourse was harmonious. It is true that they had not traversed more than three degrees of latitude, but, although their progress was slow, their time was well spent. De Monts was satisfied that it would be easier to colonize Acadia than this American coast, and Champlain was still convinced that Port Royal was the most favourable spot, unless de Monts preferred Quebec.

The expedition returned to Ste. Croix in nine days, arriving there on August 3rd. Here they found a vessel from France, under the command of Captain des Antons, laden with provisions, and many things suitable for winter use. There was now a chance of saving the settlers, although their position was not enviable.

De Monts was determined to try the climate of Port Royal, and to endeavour to establish a settlement there. Two barques were fitted out and laden with the frame work of the buildings at Ste. Croix. Champlain and Pont-Gravé had set out before to select a favourable site around the bay, well sheltered from the north-west wind. They chose a place opposite an island at the mouth of the river de

l'Equille, as being the most suitable. Every one was soon busily engaged in clearing the ground and in erecting houses. The plan of the settlement, says Champlain, was ten fathoms long and eight fathoms wide, making the distance around thirty-six fathoms. On the eastern side was a storehouse occupying the width of it, with a very fine cellar, from five to six feet deep. On the northern side were the quarters of Sieur de Monts, comfortably finished. On the west side were the dwellings of the workmen. At the corner of the western side was a platform, upon which four cannon were placed, and at the eastern corner a palisade was constructed in the shape of a platform. There was nothing pretentious or elegant about these buildings, but they were solid and useful.

The installation of the new settlement being now complete, de Monts returned to France, leaving Pont-Gravé in command. During the absence of de Monts, Champlain determined to pursue his discoveries along the American coast, and in this design he was favoured by de Monts, as the latter had not altogether abandoned his idea of settling in Florida. The season, however, was too far advanced, and Champlain therefore stopped at the river St. John to meet Secoudon, with whom he agreed to set out in search of the famous copper mine. They were accompanied by a miner named Jacques, and a Slavonian very skilful in discovering minerals. He found some pieces of copper and what

appeared to be a mine, but it was too difficult to work. Champlain accordingly returned to Port Royal, where several of the men were suffering from scurvy. Out of forty-five, twelve died during the winter. The surgeon from Honfleur, named Deschamps, performed an autopsy on some of the bodies, and found them affected in the same manner as those who had died at Ste. Croix. Snow did not fall until December 20th, and the winter was not so severe as the previous one.

On March 16th, 1606, Champlain resumed his explorations, and travelled eighteen leagues on that day. He anchored at an island to the south of Manan. During the night his barque ran ashore and sustained injuries which it required four days to repair. Champlain then proceeded to Port aux Coquilles, seven or eight leagues distant, where he remained until the twenty-ninth. Pont-Gravé, however, desired him to return to Port Royal, being anxious to obtain news of his companions whom he had left sick. Owing to indisposition, Champlain was obliged to delay his departure until April 8th.

Champlain and Pont-Gravé intended to return to France during the summer of 1606. Seeing that the vessels promised by de Monts had not arrived, they set out from Port Royal to Cape Breton or Gaspé, in search of a vessel to cross the Atlantic, but when they were approaching Canseau, they met Ralleau, the secretary of de Monts, who informed them that a vessel had been despatched

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under the command of Poutrincourt, with fifty settlers for the country They, therefore, returned to Port Royal, where they found Poutrincourt, who as lieutenant-general of de Monts intended to remain at Port Royal during the year.

On September 5th, Champlain left Port Royal on a voyage of discovery. Poutrincourt joined the expedition, and they took with them a physician, the carpenter Champdoré, and Robert Gravé, the son of François. This last voyage, undertaken to please de Monts, did not result in anything remarkable. They first paid a visit to Ste. Croix, where everything remained unchanged, although the gardens were flourishing. From Ste. Croix the expedition drifted southwards, and Champlain pointed out the same bays, harbours, capes and mountains that he had observed before. Secoudon, chief of the Etchemins, and Messamouet, captain of the Micmacs, joined the party, and proceeded with them as far as Chouacouet, where they intended to form an alliance with Olmechin and Marchin, two Indian chiefs of this country.

On October 2nd, 1606, the expedition reached Mallebarre, and for a few days they anchored in a bay near Cape Batturier, which they named Port Fortuné (Stage Harbour). Five or six hundred savages were found at this place. "It would be an excellent place," says Champlain, "to erect buildings, and lay the foundation of a state, if the harbour was somewhat deeper and the entrance

safer." Poutrincourt stopped here for some days, and in the meantime visited all the surrounding country, from which he returned much pleased.

According to a custom peculiar to the French since the days of Jacques Cartier, de Monts had planted a large cross at the entrance of the Kennebec River, and also at Mallebarre. Poutrincourt did the same at Port Fortuné. The Indians seemed annoyed at this ceremony, which they evidently considered as an encroachment upon their rights as proprietors. They exhibited symptoms of discontent, and during the night killed four Frenchmen who had imprudently stayed ashore. They were buried near the cross. This the Indians immediately threw down, but Poutrincourt ordered it to be restored to its former position.

On three different occasions the party attempted to pursue their discoveries southwards, but they were prevented each time by a contrary wind. They therefore resolved to return to Port Royal, which was rendered imperative by both the approach of winter and the scarcity of provisions. The result of the voyage was not altogether satisfactory. Champlain had reached only a third of a degree further south than on the former occasion, but he had not discovered anything of importance.

On their return to Port Royal, the voyagers were received with great ceremony. Lescarbot, a Parisian lawyer, who had arrived some time before, and

some other Frenchmen, went to meet them and conducted them to the fort, which had been decorated with evergreens and inscriptions. On the principal door they had placed the arms of France, surrounded with laurel crowns, and the king's motto: *Duo protegit unus*. Beneath the arms of de Monts was placed this inscription: *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*. The arms of Poutrincourt were wreathed with crowns of leaves, with his motto: *Invia virtuti nulla est via*. Lescarbot had composed a short drama for the occasion, entitled, *Le Théatre de Neptune*.

The winter of 1606-07 was not very severe. The settlers lived happily in spite of the scurvy, from which some of them died. Hunting afforded them the means of providing a great variety of dishes, such as geese, ducks, bears, beavers, partridges, reindeer, bustards, etc. They also organized a society devoted to good cheer called, *Ordre du Bon Temps*, the by-laws of which were definite, and were fixed by Champlain himself. The Indians of the vicinity who were friendly towards the French colony were in need of food, so that each day loaves of bread were distributed amongst them. Their *sagamo*, named Membertou, was admitted as a guest to the table of Poutrincourt. This famous Souriquois, who was very old at that time—probably a hundred years, though he had not a single white hair—pretended to have known Jacques Cartier at the time of his first voyage, and claimed

OLD FORT, NEAR ANNAPOLIS ROYAL

From an engraving in the John Ross Robertson collection

that in 1534 he was married, and the father of a young family.

Lescarbot, who was an able man and a good historian, records the particulars above related, besides many other interesting facts concerning Port Royal which appear to have escaped Champlain's observation. Lescarbot was an active spirit in the life of the first French colony in Acadia. He encouraged his companions to cultivate their land, and he worked himself in the gardens, sowing wheat, oats, beans, pease, and herbs, which he tended with care. He was also liked by the Indians, and he would have rejoiced to see them converted to Christianity. Lescarbot was a poet and a preacher, and had also a good knowledge of the arts and of medicine. Charlevoix says: "He daily invented something new for the public good. And there was never a stronger proof of what a new settlement might derive from a mind cultivated by study, and induced by patriotism to use its knowledge and reflections. We are indebted to this advocate for the best memoirs of what passed before his eyes, and for a history of French Florida. We there behold an exact and judicious writer, a man with views of his own, and who would have been as capable of founding a colony as of writing its history."

With the departure of Lescarbot and Champlain the best page of the history of Port Royal is closed. The two men left Canso on September 3rd, 1607,

on board the *Jonas*, commanded by Nicholas Martin. They stopped at Roscoff in Basse-Bretagne, and the vessel arrived at St. Malo in the early days of October.

Poutrincourt, his son Biencourt, and Lescarbot made a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel, and Champlain went to Brouage, his native country, having sojourned in America for three years and five months. During that period he had been as continuously active in exploration as the climate allowed, keeping careful record of his travels and making maps and charts for the volume which was to be published half a dozen years later.[1] Even on the return journey he spent the three weeks, after his departure from Port Royal on August 11th, in detailed examination of the coast from there to Canso, where he took ship for France.

[1] Champlain's account of his years in Acadia is contained in Book I of *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain*, Paris, 1613. English versions are to be found in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Champlain Society), ed. Biggar, vol. i, and in W. L. Grant's edition of the *Voyages* 1604-1618, Scribners, New York, 1907.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC

AFTER his return to France, as before described, Champlain had an interview with de Monts, and laid before him the journal which he had prepared of his explorations in America, together with plans of the ports and coasts which he had minutely examined during his visits. Champlain proposed to de Monts to continue his explorations, and advanced some reasons for prosecuting an enterprise upon which a large sum had been already expended, and which he was persuaded would ultimately afford the means of repairing their fortunes. De Monts, owing to the failure of his own efforts as a colonizer, was not at first inclined to listen to Champlain's proposals, but he was finally convinced of the wisdom of his suggestions, and appointed him lieutenant of an expedition to Quebec for the purpose of trading with the Indians. The expedition was to return to France during the same year. De Monts obtained another commission from the king, dated at Paris, January 9th, 1608, which gave him the monopoly of the fur trade in the lands, ports and rivers of Canada for a period of one year. Two vessels were equipped for this expedition, the *Don de Dieu*, captain Henry Couillard, and the

Lévrier, captain Nicholas Marion. Champlain was given the command of the former vessel, and Pont-Gravé was in command of the latter. The *Lévrier* sailed from France on April 5th, and the *Don de Dieu* eight days later. The two vessels proceeded directly to Tadousac, without calling at Percé, according to the usual custom.

On the arrival of the *Don de Dieu* at Tadousac, Champlain found that Pont-Gravé had been attacked by Captain Darache, a Basque, who continued to trade for furs with the Indians in spite of the king's commands. Darache had brought all his guns to bear upon the *Lévrier*, and Pont-Gravé being unable to defend himself, had offered no resistance, whereupon Darache's crew had boarded the vessel and carried off the cannon and arms, at the same time intimating that they would continue to trade as they pleased. The arrival of Champlain, however, altered the situation, and Darache was compelled to sign an agreement by which he pledged himself not to molest Pont-Gravé, or to do anything prejudicial to the interest of the king or of de Monts. It was also agreed that all differences should be settled by the authorities in France. After this agreement was effected through Champlain's intervention, the carpenters of the expedition fitted out a small barque to convey to Quebec all the articles necessary for the use of the future settlement.

In the meantime Champlain visited the river Saguenay, where he met some Indians from whom

he gathered information concerning Lake St. John and its tributaries. The information did not differ greatly from that which he had obtained in the year 1603. Champlain set out from Tadousac on the last day of June and arrived at Quebec on July 3rd, "Where I searched," he says, "for a place suitable for our settlement, but I could find none more convenient or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut trees."

Champlain was accompanied by thirty men, amongst whom may be named Nicholas Marsolet, Étienne Brûlé, Bonnerme, a doctor, Jean Duval, Antoine Natel and La Taille. These names are specially recorded. Champlain immediately employed some workmen to fell trees in order to commence the construction of an *Habitation*. One party was engaged in sawing timber, another in digging a cellar and some ditches, while another party was sent to Tadousac with a barque to obtain supplies which had been retained in the ships. Such was the beginning of Champlain's city. Nothing great, it will be admitted, for a settlement which its founder hoped before long would become the great warehouse of New France.

Until this date the merchants had traded with the Indians only in those places where they could easily be met, and even Chauvin, who was mentioned in a previous chapter, had not gone further than Tadousac. Neither Three Rivers, nor the

islands of Sorel at the entrance of the Iroquois River, now called the Richelieu River, were known to French navigators at this period, and although these places were easily accessible to the aborigines, they were not so available as Quebec.

Champlain well understood the advantages of founding his city on a spot naturally fortified and where he could readily defend himself against the attack of an enemy, whose approach he expected sooner or later. The first foes, however, whom Champlain had to encounter were not the Indians, but his own countrymen, members of his crew who under various pretexts sought to kill their chief and give the command of the settlement to the Basques. Jean Duval, the king's locksmith, was the leader of this conspiracy against Champlain, and associated with him were four vicious sailors to whom he promised a part of the reward which had been offered for this treason. The conspirators agreed to preserve secrecy, and fixed the night of the fourth day for the assassination of their chief.

On the day upon which the plot was to be put into execution, Captain Le Testu[1] arrived from Tadousac in command of a vessel laden with provisions, utensils, etc. After the vessel was unloaded, one of the conspirators, a locksmith named

[1] Le Testu's Christian name was Guillaume. His first voyage to Newfoundland was made in 1601. He came to Quebec in 1603, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, and 1616. He was successively captain of the *Fleur de Lys*, the *Trinité*, and the *Nativité*. He was very circumspect in his dealings.

Natel, approached the captain and acquainted him with the details of the plot. Champlain also listened to the man's account and promised to observe secrecy, although he took precautions to frustrate the scheme by inviting the leader and the four conspirators to an entertainment on board Captain Le Testu's barque.

The men accepted the invitation, and as soon as they were on board they were seized and held in custody until the following day. The deposition of each man was then taken by Champlain in the presence of the pilot and sailors, and set down in writing, after which the "worthies" were sent to Tadousac, where Champlain requested Pont-Gravé to guard them for a time. Some days after the men were returned to Quebec, where they were placed on trial for attempted murder.

The jury was composed of Champlain, Pont-Gravé, Le Testu, Bonnerme, the mate and the second mate, and some sailors. The verdict was unanimous. Duval was condemned to death on the spot as the instigator of the plot, and the others were also sentenced to death, but their sentence was to be carried out in France. Duval was strangled at Quebec, and his head was placed on a pike which was set up in the most conspicuous part of the fort. This was the second example of capital punishment in New France. The first case recorded was at Charlesbourg Royal, or Cap-Rouge, near Quebec, in the winter of 1542-3, when Michel

Gaillon, one of Roberval's companions, was put to death.

Champlain was invested with executive, legislative and judiciary powers, but the founder of Quebec never abused the authority intrusted to him. From this time every one fulfilled his duty day by day, and Champlain was able to continue his work in peace.

The habitation was composed of three buildings of two stories, each one of three fathoms long and two and a half wide. The storehouse was six fathoms long and three wide, with a cellar six feet deep. There was a gallery around the buildings, at the second story. There were also ditches fifteen feet wide and six deep. On the outer side of the ditches Champlain constructed several spurs, which enclosed a part of the dwelling, at the point where he placed a cannon. Before the habitation there was a square four fathoms wide and six or seven long, looking out upon the river bank. Surrounding the habitation were very good gardens, and an open space on the north side, some hundred and twenty paces long and fifty or sixty wide.

During the first weeks after his installation, Champlain made an investigation of the vicinity. "Near Quebec," he says, "there is a little river coming from a lake in the interior, distant six or seven leagues from our settlement. I am of opinion that this river, which is north a quarter north-west from our settlement, is the place where Jacques

Cartier wintered, since there are still, a league up the river, remains of what seems to have been a chimney, the foundation of which has been found, and indications of there having been ditches surrounding their dwelling, which was small. We found also, large pieces of hewn, worm-eaten timber, and some three or four cannon balls. All these things show clearly that there was a settlement there founded by Christians; and what leads me to say and believe that it was that of Jacques Cartier is the fact that there is no evidence whatever that any one wintered and built a house in these places except Jacques Cartier at the time of his discoveries."

This "little river coming from a lake in the interior," is evidently the river St. Charles, called Ste. Croix by Cartier. Champlain's conjectures about the place where Jacques Cartier wintered, are certainly correct. It was near this spot also that the Jesuits erected their convent of Notre Dame des Anges in 1626, namely, at two hundred feet from the shore, where the river Lairet joins the St. Charles.

Pont-Gravé sailed for France on September 18th, 1608, leaving Champlain with twenty-seven men, and provisions for the approaching winter at Quebec. The carpenters, sawyers, and other workmen were employed in clearing up the place and in preparing gardens.

Many Indians were encamped in the vicinity,

who proved troublesome neighbours, as they were constantly visiting the habitation, either to beg food for their families or to express their fear of invisible enemies. Champlain readily understood the character of these people, but he was too charitable to refuse them assistance in their need; besides he believed that they might easily be taught how to live and how to cultivate the soil. It was a difficult task, however, to induce the Indians to settle in any particular place. For generations they had led a wandering life, subsisting on the products of their hunting and fishing. This wild freedom was as necessary to their existence as the open air, and all attempts to make them follow the habits of civilized races seemed to tend towards their deterioration.

The early days of the French settlement at Quebec were distinguished by nothing remarkable. During the first winter scurvy and dysentery claimed many victims. Natel, the locksmith, died towards the end of November, and some time after Bonnerme, the doctor, was attacked and succumbed. Eighteen others also suffered from scurvy of whom ten died, and there were five deaths from dysentery, so that by the spring there were only eight men living, and Champlain himself was seriously indisposed. This was the third time that the founder of Quebec had had to experience the effects of this terrible disease, and although he was beginning to understand its causes, hè was still unaware of a

specific. "I am confident," he says, "that, with good bread and fresh meat, a person would not be liable to it."

Many trials had been experienced by the settlers during their first winter of 1608-09, and they welcomed the return of spring. Des Marets[1] arrived at Quebec at this time, with tidings that Pont-Gravé, his father-in-law, had arrived at Tadousac on May 28th. Champlain at once repaired to Tadousac, where he received a letter from de Monts requesting him to return to France to acquaint him with the progress which he had made in the colony, and with the result of his explorations. Champlain returned to Quebec, and immediately fitted out an expedition to visit the country of the Iroquois, in the company of a party of Montagnais.

The Montagnais were anxious to carry on war against their ancient enemies, and although the wars had no attraction for Champlain, he hoped to be able to further his discoveries during the journey. Taking with him the twenty men placed at his disposal by Pont-Gravé, Champlain sailed from Quebec on June 18th, 1609. The command of the

[1] Champlain often speaks of this man. His true name was Claude Godet, Sieur des Marets. His father, Cléophas Godet, a lawyer, had three sons, Claude, Jean and Jessé. Jean was Sieur du Parc, and Jessé parish priest of Chambois in 1634. Both Claude and Jean came to Canada. Claude des Marets was married, in 1615, to Jeanne Gravé, only daughter of François Gravé, Sieur du Pont. He died about the year 1626, leaving one child named François, who came to New France with his grandfather, and was present at the capitulation of Quebec in 1629.

habitation was given to Pont-Gravé in the meantime. The expedition proceeded towards the island of St. Eloi, near the shores of which two or three hundred savages were encamped in tents. They proved to be Hurons and Algonquins who were on their way to Quebec to join Champlain's expedition to the territory of the Iroquois. Their chiefs were named Iroquet and Ochateguin, and Champlain explained to them the object of his voyage. The next day the two chiefs paid a visit to Champlain and remained silent for some time, meditating and smoking. After some reflection the chiefs began to harangue their companions on the banks of the river. They spoke for a long time in loud tones, and the substance of their remarks has been summed up in these words:—

"Ten moons ago Champlain had declared that he desired to assist them against their enemies, with whom they had been for a long time at warfare, on account of many cruel acts committed by them against their tribe, under colour of friendship. Having ever since longed for vengeance, they had solicited all the savages whom they had seen on the banks of the river to come and make an alliance. They had no children with them but men versed in war and full of courage, and well acquainted with the country and the rivers of the land of the Iroquois. They wanted to go to Quebec in order that they might see the French houses, but after three days they would return to engage in the war. As a

token of firm friendship and joy, Champlain should have muskets and arquebuses fired."

Champlain replied that he was glad to be able to fulfil his promise to them; he had no other purpose than to assist them in their wars; he had not come as a trader, but only with arms to fight. His word was given, and it was his desire that it should be kept. Thus was the alliance ratified which had been made in 1603 between the French and the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais, and the alliance was never broken.

Some historians have reproached Champlain for his intervention in the wars between the Indians of Canada, and have suggested that it would have been wiser to have preserved a strict neutrality, instead of taking up arms against the redoubtable and valiant Iroquois. In order to explain Champlain's actions, it is necessary to consider the relations of the French towards the other tribes. Many years before the period of which we are writing, certain French captains traded with the Montagnais Indians of Tadousac. These Indians were on friendly terms with the Hurons, the Algonquins Supérieurs of the Ottawa river, and the Souriquois of Acadia, and were united in their desire to subdue the terrible Iroquois. As the Iroquois did not trade with the French, Champlain had no relations with them of a business character, and therefore he was not bound towards them in the same manner as he was towards the Hurons and others.

The Iroquois at first resided at Montreal and Three Rivers, while their neighbours, the Algonquins, were scattered along the shores of the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and French River. The Algonquins, who were brave and very numerous, succeeded in driving the Iroquois back to Lake Erie, and afterwards to Lake Ontario, near Lake Champlain. Here the Iroquois were distributed in five tribes, forming a great confederation. (1.) The Tsonnontouans or Senecas. (2.) The Goyogouins or Cayugas. (3.) The Onontagues or Onondagas. (4.) The Onneyouts or Oneidas. (5.) The Agniers or Mohawks. The Tsonnontouans were the most numerous, but the Agniers were the bravest and wildest.

The Iroquois or confederate tribes had by constant warfare become the greatest warriors of New France, nor is this fact surprising when we consider that they had waged successful warfare, extending over a long period, against the vast coalition of Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais and Micmacs scattered from Lake Huron to Acadia.

Anadabijou, chief of the Montagnais, made a long speech, telling his men that they ought to feel proud of the friendship of the king of France and of his people, upon whom they could rely for assistance in their wars. It was from that date that the alliance between the Indians and the French commenced, and, as Champlain was obliged to live in the neighbourhood of the Montagnais and Al-

gonquins, the only course open to him, if he desired to live in peace, was to fulfil his promise made to them.

In this year, 1609, Anadabijou reminded Champlain of the agreement made six years before. "Ten moons ago," he says, "the son of Iroquet had seen you. You gave him a good reception, and promised with Pont-Gravé to assist us against our enemies." To this Champlain replied, "My only desire is to fulfil what I promised then." Thus was sealed this solemn agreement.

If Champlain had refused to make an alliance with these Indians, they would have been a constant source of trouble, for although they were less ferocious than the Iroquois, they were still barbarians. Champlain and his few men could never have established a settlement at Quebec if they had been forced to encounter the hostility of the neighbouring Indians, for the whole of his work could have been overthrown by them in a single day.

The country of the Iroquois, on the contrary, was situated at a great distance, and consequently he had not so much to fear from them. It was Champlain's desire, however, to make a treaty with the Iroquois as well, for they were at this time even, and long after remained, the terror of North America. But war seemed necessary to the existence of the Iroquois, and Champlain, notwithstanding the exercise of his diplomacy, found it impossible to pacify these restless people.

It is true that the people of New Holland had been able to maintain a neutral stand towards the Iroquois, and Champlain has been blamed for not following this example. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Dutch were powerful and numerous, and it was to their interest to live in harmony with their immediate neighbours, the Iroquois. The Dutch had also different intentions towards the Indians. They came to America simply to trade, and to establish themselves and live quietly along the shores of the Hudson River, while Champlain's idea was to civilize the Indians and bring them under the influence of the Catholic missionaries

Champlain and the allied Indians left Quebec on June 28th, 1609. Des Marets, La Routte, a pilot, and nine men accompanied the expedition. On their voyage they passed certain rivers to which Champlain gave the following names, Ste. Suzanne (River du Loup), du Pont (Nicolet), de Gênes (Yamaska), and the Three Rivers.[1] The party stopped at the entrance of the Iroquois River. Continuing their journey southwards, they arrived at the Chambly Rapids. "No Christians had been in this place before us," says Champlain. Seeing no prospect of being able to cross the rapids alone, Champlain enbarked with the Indians in their canoes, taking

[1] This is the river *de Fouez* of Jacques Cartier, and the *Metaberoutin* of the Indians, and now the river St. Maurice, to which has been given by Champlain the name of Three Rivers, because two islands divide it into three branches at its entrance; these branches are called *Les Chenaux*, or the narrow channels.

only two men with him. Champlain's army, comprising sixty men, then proceeded slowly towards Lake Champlain, down which they sailed towards Lake St. Sacrament (Lake George). On July 29th they encountered the Iroquois, who had come to fight, at the extremity of Lake Champlain, on the western bank. The entire night was spent by each army in dancing and singing, and in bandying words. At daybreak Champlain's men stood to arms. The Iroquois were composed of about two hundred men, stout and rugged in appearance, with their three chiefs at their head, who could be distinguished by their large plumes. The allies opened their ranks and called upon Champlain to go to the front. The arrows were beginning to fly on both sides when Champlain discharged his musket, which was loaded with four balls, and killed two of the chiefs and mortally wounded the third. This unexpected blow caused great alarm among the Iroquois, who lost courage, abandoned their camp and took to flight, seeking shelter in the woods. Fifteen or sixteen men of Champlain's party were wounded, but the enemy had many wounded, and ten or twelve were taken prisoners.

This victory did not entail much hardship on the part of the French. Champlain and his two companions did more to rout the Iroquois than the sixty allies with their shower of arrows. The result of this day's proceedings was highly satisfactory to the Indians, who gathered up the arms and provi-

sions left behind by the Iroquois, and feasted sumptuously amidst dancing and singing. "The spot where this attack took place," says Champlain, "is in the latitude of 43° and some minutes, and the lake is called Champlain." This place is now called Ticonderoga, or the Cheondoroga of the Indians.

Champlain returned to Quebec with the Montagnais, and a few days after he set out for Tadousac to see whether Pont-Gravé had arrived from Gaspé. He met Pont-Gravé on the morrow, and they both decided to sail for France, and to leave Quebec in the meantime under the command of Pierre de Chauvin,[1] pending the decision of de Monts as to the future of the colony. Both visited Quebec in order to invest Chauvin with authority, and after leaving him everything necessary for the use of the settlement, and placing fifteen men under his command, the two commanders left Quebec on September 1st, 1609, and sailed from Tadousac for France on the fifth day of the same month.

Champlain had sojourned in New France since the beginning of July, 1608, and during that interval he had made good use of his time. He had chosen the most suitable place for a habitation which was destined to become the metropolis of the

[1] Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de la Pierre, called Captain Pierre by Champlain, was born at Dieppe, but after the death of his relative, Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de Tontuit, he resided at Honfleur. There were many families of Chauvin in Normandy during the seventeenth century, notably the Chauvins, Sieurs de Tontuit, and the Chauvins, Sieurs de la Pierre.

French colony; he had constructed a fort and a storehouse, and he had also explored a very important tract of country. Champlain had also visited a part of the river Saguenay; he had made himself acquainted with the vicinity of Quebec, and with the rivers, streams and tributaries of the St. Lawrence and Ste. Croix. For the second time he had seen the river St. Lawrence as far as the Iroquois River over which he had sailed as far as Lake Champlain, whence it receives its waters. Besides his achievements in exploration Champlain had cemented friendly relations with the Montagnais, Algonquins and Hurons; he had renewed his acquaintance with Anadabijou and formed an alliance with Iroquet and Ochateguin, three of the most powerful chiefs of these tribes. He was also well versed in their methods of warfare and had studied their manners and customs and their treatment of their prisoners, so that when he returned to France he was in a position to give de Monts a great deal of valuable information, both as regards the inhabitants and the best means of promoting trade with them.

On his arrival in France Champlain proceeded at once to Fontainebleau, where he met King Henry IV and de Monts. He had an audience with the king and gave His Majesty a satisfactory account of his proceedings. He also presented to the king a girdle made of porcupine quills, two little birds of carnation colour, and the head of a fish caught in

Lake Champlain, which had a very long snout, and two or three rows of very sharp teeth.

To de Monts the visit of Champlain was of great importance, because the fate of Quebec was bound up with him. After hearing Champlain's narrative of his voyages in New France, de Monts decided to visit Rouen in order to consult Collier and Legendre, his associates. After deliberation they resolved to continue their efforts to colonize New France and to further explore the great river St. Lawrence. In order to realize means for defraying the expenses of the expedition, Pont-Gravé was authorized to engage in any traffic that would help to accomplish this end. In the meantime Lucas Legendre was ordered to purchase merchandise for the expedition, to see to the repairs of the vessels, and to obtain crews. After these details had been arranged de Monts and Champlain returned to Paris to settle the more important questions.

De Monts' commission, which had been issued for one year, had expired, but he hoped that it would be renewed. His requests, which appeared just and reasonable, were, however, refused, owing to protests on the part of merchants of Brittany and Normandy, who claimed that this monopoly was ruinous to their commerce. Finally de Monts appealed to his former partners, who decided to furnish two vessels, at their own expense, with supplies and stores necessary for the settlement. Pont-Gravé was given the command of a fur-trad-

ing vessel, and the other was laden with provisions and stores necessary for the use of the settlers. Champlain was informed that his services were dispensed with, but not believing that this news could be true, he saw de Monts and asked him frankly whether such was the case. De Monts told him that he could accompany the expedition, if he chose to do so. Champlain therefore set out from Paris on the last day of February, 1610, and proceeded to Rouen, where he remained for two days, and then left for Honfleur, to meet Pont-Gravé and Legendre, who informed him that the vessels were ready to sail.

CHAPTER IV

CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES OF 1610, 1611, 1613

CHAMPLAIN embarked at Honfleur with eleven artisans for Quebec, on March 7th, 1610. The rough weather experienced during the first days of the voyage rendered it necessary for the vessel to run into Portland, on the English coast, and later to seek refuge in the lee of the Isle of Wight. At this time Champlain was taken suddenly ill, and was obliged to return by boat to Havre de Grâce to undergo medical treatment. A month after he rejoined his former vessel, which in the meantime had returned to Honfleur to take in ballast. Champlain had now somewhat recovered, although he was still weak and ill.

The vessel left Honfleur on April 8th, and reached Tadousac on the 26th of the same month, which was one of the shortest passages ever made up to that time. "There were vessels," says Champlain, "which had arrived on the 18th of the month, a thing which had not been seen for more than sixty years, as the old mariners said who sail regularly to this country." This remark proves that for more than half a century French fishermen and navigators had been accustomed to proceed as far as Tadousac. A Basque, named Lavalette, who had

been accustomed to fish on the Acadian coast from about the year 1565, also confirms the statement.

On his arrival at Tadousac, Champlain ascertained from a young nobleman, named du Parc,[1] who had wintered with Chauvin at Quebec, that all the settlers were in good health, and that only a few of them had been slightly ill. They had been able to procure fresh meat during the whole season, and consequently scurvy had not made its appearance. "By avoiding salt food and using fresh meat, the health is as good here as in France."

The Indians had been waiting from day to day for the return of Champlain, for they wished him to accompany them to war. He therefore went ashore to assure them that he would fulfil his promise under the conditions made, namely, that upon his return they would point out to him the three rivers, and the lake which they had described as resembling a sea, the end of which could not be seen, and by means of which he could return by way of the Saguenay to Tadousac. The Indians readily promised to do all this, but only in the following year. Champlain had also promised the Hurons and Algonquins that he would assist them in their wars, if they would show him their country, the great lake and the copper mines. "I had accord-

[1] Jean Godet, Sieur du Parc, was a brother of Claude des Marets. He came with his brother to Quebec in 1609, and wintered there. In 1616 he commanded at Quebec. On his return to France, he remained at St. Germain de Clairefeuille, where he died on November 16th, 1652.

ingly " he said 'two strings to my bow, so that, in case one should break, the other might hold."

On April 28th, 1610, Champlain set out from Tadousac for Quebec, where he found Captain Chauvin and his companions in good health. They had with them an Indian chief named Batiscan, who was so pleased at Champlain's return that he and his comrades showed their appreciation by singing and dancing all night. Champlain entertained them at a banquet, with which they were delighted.

Some days after a party of the Montagnais, numbering about sixty men, made their appearance at Quebec, *en route* for the war. They presented themselves before Champlain, and said: " Here are numerous Basques and Mistigoches (so they named the Normans and Malouins) who say they will go to the war with us. What do you think of it? Do they speak the truth?" Champlain answered: " No, I know very well what they really mean; they say this only to get possession of your commodities." The Indians replied: " You have spoken the truth. They are women and want to make war only upon our beavers." Confiding in Champlain's word, the Montagnais went to Three Rivers under the agreement that a general rendezvous should be held there with the French. The Hurons were to await them at the entrance of the Iroquois River.

Champlain started on his journey on June 14th. When he was eight leagues from Quebec he met a canoe bearing an Algonquin and a Montagnais,

who entreated him to hasten towards Three Rivers, as the Algonquins and Hurons would be at the meeting-place within two days. The Algonquins presented Champlain with a piece of copper a foot long and quite pure, and stated that there were large quantities to be found on the bank of a river, near a great lake. The Indians also stated that they collected the copper in lumps, and after they had melted it, spread it in sheets and smoothed it with stones. Champlain was well pleased to receive this present, although it was of small value.

The Montagnais assembled at Three Rivers, and on June 18th they all set out together. On the following day they arrived at an island situated at the mouth of the river Richelieu, which the Montagnais used to frequent when they wished to avoid the Iroquois.

An alarm was soon given that the Algonquins had fallen in with a band of Iroquois, numbering one hundred, who were strongly barricaded. Each man then took his arms and set out in a canoe towards the enemy. The firing immediately began, and Champlain was wounded by an arrow which pierced his ear and entered his neck. He seized the arrow and withdrew it from the wound. The Iroquois were much astonished at the noise caused by the discharge of the French muskets, and some of them, seeing their companions wounded or dead, threw themselves upon the ground whenever they heard a musket fired. Champlain resolved after

a while to force the barricade, sword in hand, which he accomplished without much resistance, and entered the fort. Fifteen prisoners were taken, and the rest were killed either by musket shots, arrows, or the sword. The savages, according to their custom, scalped the dead. The Montagnais and Algonquins had three killed and fifty wounded. On the following day Pont-Gravé and Chauvin did some trading in peltry.

Amongst Champlain's party there was a young lad named Nicholas Marsolet, who desired to accompany the Algonquins in order to learn their language, and he was pleased to learn that after much deliberation the Algonquins had decided to take him, on the condition that Champlain accepted a young Huron as hostage. The Indian boy was named Savignon by the French. Lescarbot writes that he met this youth many times in Paris, and that "he was a big and stout boy."

The French and the allied Indians separated with many promises of friendship. The Indians departed for the fall of the great river of Canada, and the French, with Champlain at their head, proceeded to Quebec. On the return journey they met at Lake St. Peter, Pont-Gravé, who was on his way to Tadousac, to arrange some business connected with headquarters.

Pont-Gravé contemplated passing the winter at Quebec, but in the meantime des Marets arrived from France, much to the delight of every one,

as his vessel was long overdue. The news which he brought, however, was so serious that both Champlain and Pont-Gravé decided to return to France. The intelligence received was to the effect that M. de St. Luc had expelled the Huguenots from Brouage, that the king had been killed, and that the Duke of Sully and two other noblemen had shared the same fate.

Champlain was much distressed over the condition of affairs in France, and on his departure he left du Parc in command of Quebec, and placed under him sixteen men, "all of whom were enjoined to live soberly, and in the fear of God, and in strict observance of the obedience due to the authority of du Parc." The settlement was left with a plentiful supply of kitchen vegetables, together with a sufficient quantity of Indian corn, wheat, rye and barley. Everything was in good order when Champlain set out from Quebec on August 8th. Five days later Pont-Gravé's vessel sailed from Tadousac for France. On September 27th they arrived at Honfleur, the voyage having lasted one month and a half.

This second voyage of Champlain did not restore de Monts' fortunes. The withdrawal of the exclusive privilege of trading was the signal for a large number of trading vessels to appear in the St. Lawrence. In fact the operations were so great as to render the profits of the company null. The disaster was so complete that Champlain says: "Many will remem-

ber for a long time the loss made this year." For all the labour which Champlain had bestowed upon the settlement the result was small, and it was evident that if any French merchant were allowed without restrictions to trade with the Indians, commerce would be ruined, and the development of the settlement would be impossible. During the first years a beaver skin could be exchanged in return for two knives, and now fifteen or twenty were required for the same exchange. Champlain therefore desired to establish some form of rule by which commerce could be restricted, or in other words, whereby he or de Monts, or any one else who would undertake the direction of the affairs of New France, might be protected.

It was during this winter of 1610-11, that Champlain, who was now more than forty years of age, entertained thoughts of marriage. His constant voyages during the past twelve years had probably prevented him from entering into this estate before. It is, perhaps, somewhat surprising that he so suddenly put aside this consideration against the marriage. Did he contemplate residing permanently at Quebec, or did he foresee that circumstances would render his remaining in New France improbable? There is nothing in his narrative which throws any light on this question. Champlain does not mention the name of his wife in any of his writings, but we find later that she accompanied him to Quebec, where she dwelt for four years. The name of Cham-

plain's wife was Hélène Boullé, the daughter of Nicholas Boullé, secretary of the king's chamber, and of Marguerite Alix of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris. Hélène Boullé was born in 1598, and at the time of her marriage contract she was only twelve years of age. Her parents were Calvinists, and she was brought up in the same faith, but through the lessons and influence of her husband she became a Catholic.

The marriage settlements were executed at Paris on December 27th, 1610, and signed by Choquillet and Arragon, notaries, in the presence of the parents and friends of both parties. Among those who attended on that occasion were Pierre du Gua, friend; Lucas Legendre, of Rouen, friend; Hercule Rouer, merchant of Paris; Marcel Chenu, merchant of Paris; Jehan Roernan, secretary of de Monts, Champlain's friend; François Lesaige, druggist of the king's stables, friend and relative; Jehan Ravenal, Sieur de la Merrois; Pierre Noël, Sieur de Cosigné, friend; Anthoine de Murad, king's councillor and almoner; Anthoine Marye, barber-surgeon, relative and friend; Geneviève Lesaige, wife of Simon Alix, uncle of Hélène Boullé, on the mother's side.

According to the terms of the contract, Nicholas Boullé and his wife pledged themselves, by anticipated payment of the inheritance, to pay six thousand livres cash, the day preceding the marriage. Champlain also agreed to give his future wife the

benefit of his wealth at his death. Two days after, Nicholas Boullé sent to his son-in-law the sum of four thousand five hundred livres, the balance was to be sent later on.

The betrothal took place in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, on Wednesday, December 29th, 1610. As the young bride was not of marriageable age, she returned to her family to live with them for two years, as agreed by the contract.

Champlain then resumed his colonization work, and had an interview with de Monts, in order to encourage him to continue the enterprise. Although the profits were likely to be small so long as the trade was open, it seemed probable that fur-trading, and developing the resources of the country, might still yield a profit. The expenses of the undertaking were also small: a few barrels of biscuits, of pease and cider would be found sufficient to sustain the fifteen or twenty men who formed the nucleus of the colony. From year to year Champlain hoped to be able to monopolize the fur trade, not for himself, but for the company of de Monts.

The vessels which were equipped for the expedition were ready to sail on March 1st, 1611. The passage was very rough, and when about eight leagues distant from the Great Banks of Newfoundland, the vessels were in great danger through the number of icebergs which were encountered. The cold was so intense that it was found difficult

to navigate the vessel. While in the vicinity of Newfoundland, they communicated with a French ship, on board of which was Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, who was bound for Port Royal to meet his father. He had left France three months previously, and had been unable to find his way to the Acadian coast,

After having sighted Gaspé, Champlain arrived at Tadousac on May 13th, where he found all the country covered with snow. The savages were informed of Champlain's arrival by cannon shot, and they soon made their appearance. They stated that three or four trading vessels had arrived within the last eight days, but that their business had been a failure on account of the scarcity of furs.

Champlain proceeded at once to Quebec, where he found everything in good order, and neither du Parc nor his companions had suffered from any sickness. Game had been abundant during the whole winter. Champlain intended to visit Three Rivers, but Batiscan said that he would not be prepared to conduct him there until next year. As he was unable to carry out his designs, Champlain took with him Savignon and one Frenchman, and visited the great fall. He made a careful examination of the country, and says:—

"But in all that I saw I found no place more favourable than a little spot to which barques and shallops can easily ascend with the help of a strong wind, or by taking a winding course, in consequence

of the strong current. But above this place, which we named *La Place Royale*, at the distance of a league from Mont Royal, there are a great many little rocks and shoals which are very dangerous. . . . Formerly savages tilled these lands. . . . There is a large number of other fine pastures, where any number of cattle can graze. . . . After a careful examination, we found this place one of the finest on this river. I accordingly gave orders to cut down and clear up the woods in the Place Royale, so as to level it and prepare it for building."

This was the beginning of Montreal, the wealthiest city of Canada.

Champlain constructed a wall four feet thick, three or four feet high, and thirty feet long. This fort was placed on an elevation twelve feet higher than the level of the soil, so that it was safe from inundation. Champlain named the island Ste. Hélène, in honour of his wife, and he found that a strong town could be built there. To-day this island is a favourite resort for the inhabitants of Montreal, and it is an ornament to the harbour of the large city.

On June 13th two hundred Hurons arrived at Sault St. Louis, so called from a young Frenchman named Louis, who was drowned in the rapids a few days before. The Hurons were under the command of Ochateguin, Iroquet and Tregouaroti. The latter was a brother of Savignon, the young Huron whom

Champlain had taken with him to France. The interview, which lasted some time, was most cordial. The Indians said that they felt somewhat uneasy on seeing so many Frenchmen all so greedy of gain, and that they had desired to see Champlain alone, towards whom they were as kindly disposed as towards their own children.

Champlain questioned them on the sources of the great river, and on their own country. Four of them declared that they had seen a large sea at a great distance from their village. After exchanging their peltry with Champlain's consent, some of the Hurons left to follow the war-path, while others returned to their own country. This interview occurred on June 18th, 1611. Champlain waited at Montreal to meet the Algonquins, who appeared in due course. After cementing the alliance with them, Champlain, on July 18th, set out for Quebec, where he arrived on the nineteenth. Here he found that certain necessary repairs had to be made. He also planted some rose bushes, and caused some oak wood to be placed on board a vessel for shipment to France, as a specimen of the wood of the new colony, which he considered suitable, not only for woodwork of ships, but also for windows and doors.

Champlain sailed from Quebec on July 20th, and arrived at La Rochelle on September 16th. De Monts was at Pons, in Saintonge, at this time, and it was here that he received a visit from Champlain.

After listening to Champlain's narrative of his proceedings, de Monts decided to proceed to court to arrange matters. He held a conference with his partners at Fontainebleau, but he found that they were unwilling to continue to support the enterprise. He therefore concluded a bargain with them for what remained in the Quebec settlement by the payment of a certain sum of money, and from that date the former company ceased to exist. Only Champlain and Monts retained any faith in the scheme of trade and settlement.

The year 1612 saw a further change. Champlain had sustained a bad fall from a horse in France, and by this, as well as by the affairs of the company, was kept at home all summer. Meanwhile in Canada the trade remained open, and the profits were as small as before. So that after four years of open trade Monts found his fortune sinking instead of rising, and he felt entirely unable to go on under existing conditions. The future of Canada as a settlement depended on what Champlain could achieve. His personal means were small, and far too slender to enable him to support a colony in its infancy. The thought of abandoning the settlement was repugnant to him, not only on account of the years of labour he had bestowed upon it, but also because he felt that there was every chance of success with the aid of rich and powerful men.

At the commencement of his description of his

fourth voyage to Canada, Champlain enumerates the reasons which induced him to continue his work of discovery: "The desire which I have always had of making new discoveries in New France, for the good, profit and glory of the French name, and at the same time to lead the poor natives to the knowledge of God, has led me to seek more and more for the greater facility of this undertaking, which can only be secured by means of good regulations."

Then he drew up a statement which he handed to President Jeannin, whom he knew to be well disposed.

The president encouraged Champlain but in order that he might not be deceived, he thought it better that Champlain should act under the authority of some man whose influence would be sufficient to protect him against the jealousy of the merchants. Champlain therefore addressed himself through M. de Beaulieu, councillor and almoner in ordinary to the king, to Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons, then governor of Dauphiné and Normandy. He urged upon the count the importance of the undertaking, and explained the best means of regulating it, claiming that the disorders which had hitherto existed threatened to ruin the enterprise, and to bring dishonour to the name of the French.

After having examined the map of the country, and studied the details of the scheme, Soissons

promised, under the sanction of the king, to assume the protectorate of the undertaking. Louis XIII listened favourably to the petition of his loyal subject, and granted the direction and control of the settlement to the count, who in due course honoured Champlain with the lieutenancy. Soon after this event, however, the count died, and His Majesty committed the direction of affairs to Monseigneur Le Prince de Condé, who retained Champlain as his lieutenant,

After having caused his commission to be posted in all the ports of Normandy, Champlain sailed from France on March 6th, in the vessel of Pont-Gravé, and arrived at Pointe aux Vaches, near Tadousac, on April 29th, 1613.

The savages came on board the vessel and inquired for Champlain. Some one replied that he had remained in France. On hearing this, an old man approached Champlain, who was walking in a corner of the vessel, and examined the scar on his ear, which was caused by an arrow wound while fighting for the Indians. On seeing this, the old man recognized Champlain, and expressed his feelings by shouts of delight, in which he was joined by his companions, who said, "Your people are awaiting you in the harbour of Tadousac."

On arriving at Tadousac, Champlain found that these Indians were almost dying of hunger, and after having affixed the arms and commission of

His Majesty to a post in the port, he proceeded to Quebec, which he reached on May 7th. The people of the settlement were all in good health, and the winter having been less severe than usual, the river had not frozen once.

On the 13th of the month Champlain left for the Falls of St. Louis, which he reached eight days afterwards. Here he met a number of the Algonquins, who informed him that the bad treatment which they had experienced during the previous year had discouraged them from coming to trade, and that his long absence from the country had left the whole tribe under the impression that he did not intend to return. On hearing this, Champlain recognized that it would be advisable to visit the Algonquins at once, in order to continue his discoveries, and to preserve friendly relations with them.

During his residence in France, Champlain had met a young Frenchman named Nicholas du Vignau, who claimed to have seen the Northern Sea, and said that the Ottawa River flowed from a lake which emptied into it. He also stated that the journey from Sault St. Louis to this sea and return could be accomplished in seventeen days, and that he had seen there the wreck and débris of an English ship which had contained eighty men. This intelligence seemed the more probable as the English who visited the Labrador coast in 1612, were supposed to have discovered a strait.

Champlain requested a merchant of La Rochelle, named Georges, to give du Vignau a passage on his ship, which he did willingly, and he also made an affidavit before a notary concerning du Vignau's Relation. Du Vignau came to Canada, and accompanied Champlain on his visit to the Algonquins. The party, consisting of four Frenchmen and one savage, set out from Ste. Helen's Island on May 27th, 1613.

After having passed the falls they entered Lake St. Louis. On the last day of May they passed Lake des Deux Montagnes, which Champlain called Lake de Soissons. Some days after thay came in sight of the river Gatineau, the river Rideau and its fall, and the Chaudière Falls, where they were forced to land. They also passed the rapid des Chats, Lake des Chats, Madawaska River, Muskrat Lake, and Allumette Island, opposite which an Algonquin chief named Tessoüat resided. On the following day the Indians gave a *tabagie* in honour of Champlain, who after smoking the pipe of peace with the party, explained to them that the object of his visit was to assure them of his friendship, and to assist them in their wars, as he had done before.[1]

[1] The day before the *tabagie* Champlain visited the Indian settlement on what has now been identified as Morrison Island, just below the Allumette Rapids. Further, an astrolabe was found on the portage to Muskrat Lake in 1867, which it seems likely was lost by Champlain when he made that difficult portage. See the excellent map and references in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Champlain Society Publications), ed. H. P. Biggar, vol. ii, 1925, pp. 278, 275 notes, and Pref. viii.

He told them also that he was making an excursion into their country to observe the fertility of the soil, and study their lakes and rivers, and to discover the sea which he was told was in their vicinity. Champlain therefore requested them to furnish four canoes, and eight Indians as guides, to conduct the party to the Nipissirini, in order to induce them also to join in the alliance.

The chief Tessoüat, speaking in behalf of the whole tribe, said that he regarded Champlain as the most friendly of all the French, for the others were unwilling to help them in their wars, but that they had resolved not to go to the falls again, and that, owing to the long absence of Champlain from the country, they had been compelled to go to the wars alone. They therefore begged him to postpone his expedition until the following year.

They granted Champlain's request of four canoes with great reluctance, and stated that the Nipissirini were sorcerers, and not their friends. Champlain insisted on having the guides, and stated that he had brought with him a young man who would find no difficulty in visiting the country of the Nipissirini.

Tessoüat thereupon addressed the young man by name, and said: "Nicholas, is it true that you were among the Nebicerini?" "Yes," said he in Algonquin language, "I was there." "You are a downright liar," replied Tessoüat, "you know well that you slept at my side every night, with my children,

where you arose every morning; if you were among the people mentioned, it was while sleeping. How could you have been as bold as to lead your chief to believe lies, and so wicked as to be willing to expose his life to so many dangers? You are a worthless fellow and ought to be put to death, more cruelly than we do our enemies."

Shortly after, Champlain advised the Indians that the young lad had confessed that he had lied concerning his visits to the Nipissirini country. By telling them the facts Champlain hoped to save the life of Nicholas du Vignau, as the savages had said, "Give him to us, and we promise that he shall not lie any more."

On June 10th Champlain took leave of Tessoüat, after making him presents and promising to return during the next year to assist in the war. Returning on his course, Champlain again approached the Chaudière Falls, where the savages went through a ceremony peculiar to them, which is thus described:

"After carrying their canoes to the foot of the falls, they assembled in one spot, where one of them took up a collection in a wooden plate, into which each one placed a piece of tobacco. The collection having been made, the plate was placed in the middle of the troupe, and they all danced around it, singing after their style. Then one of them made a harangue, setting forth that for a long time they had been accustomed to make this offering, by means of which they were insured

protection against their enemies, and that otherwise misfortune would befall them, as they were convinced by the evil spirit; and that they lived on in this superstition, as in many others. This done, the maker of the harangue took the plate, and threw the tobacco into the midst of the caldron, whereupon they all raised a loud cry."

Such was the superstition of these savages that they considered a favourable journey impossible without this uncouth ceremony. It was at this portage that their enemies had been wont to surprise them.

On June 17th they arrived at Sault St. Louis on their return journey. Captain L'Ange, who was the confidant of Champlain, brought news that Maisonneuve of St. Malo had arrived with a passport from the Prince de Condé for three vessels. Champlain therefore allowed him to trade with the savages.

As the trade with the savages was now completed, Champlain resolved to return to France by the first vessel which was ready to start. He accepted a passage in Maisonneuve's vessel, which arrived at St. Malo on August 26th. Champlain had an interview with the merchants, to whom he represented that a good association could be formed in the future. The merchants resolved to follow the example of those of Rouen and La Rochelle.

In concluding this chapter we may repeat the words with which Champlain ends his account

of his voyage of this year: "May God by His grace cause this undertaking to prosper to His honour and glory to the conversion of these poor benighted ones, and to honour and welfare of France."[1]

[1] Champlain's voyages from 1604-13 are contained in two parts:—

Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois, capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine . . . a Paris, MDCXIII. This volume contains a letter to the King, another to the Queen, stanzas addressed to the French, an ode to Champlain on his books and his marine maps signed by Motin. The first book contains the voyages of Champlain along the coasts of Acadia and New England. The second relates to the voyages of Champlain to Quebec, in the years 1608, 1610 and 1611.

Quatrième voyage du Sr. de Champlain, capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine, et Lieutenant de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé en la Nouvelle France, fait en l'année 1613. This volume contains a letter to Henri de Condé, and a geographical map, made in 1612, of a large size and very curious. The history of this voyage is really a part of the so-called edition of 1613, and the printing of it was done at the same time as the Relations of the first, second and third voyages, which form altogether a large volume of three hundred and twenty-five pages.

Translations of both these parts are to be found in vols. i and ii of the Champlain Society edition of his works, and also in W. L. Grant's edition.

CHAPTER V

THE RÉCOLLETS AND THEIR MISSIONS

CHAMPLAIN'S affection for New France, the land of his adoption, made him anxious to continue his explorations, in order that he might become familiar with every locality. In the course of his voyages he often had to be conveyed in Indian canoes, especially on the lakes and rivers, but this means was sufficient only when his object was to ascertain whether the country was well watered, whether the rivers were more or less navigable, whether the lakes abounded with fish, and whether the water powers were capable of being turned to account. Up till this time the founder of Quebec had pressed forward his work of exploration with an energy that was almost astonishing. He had rowed up the Iroquois River as far as lake Champlain, and he had also navigated the Ottawa River in a manner that had even surprised the Algonquins. Still many things remained to be done and to be seen, such as to observe the fertility of the soil in different latitudes, to study the manners and customs of the Indians, especially of the great Huron tribe, which was the most populous and probably better disposed to receive Christian instruction than the other tribes. Champlain's ambition had always

been to introduce Christianity in order to civilize the people. Thus we find in his writings after his return to France in 1616, the words:

"Without losing courage, I have not ceased to push on and visit various nations of the savages, and by associating familiarly with them, I have concluded, as well from their conversation as from the knowledge attained, that there is no better way than, disregarding all storms and difficulties, to have patience until His Majesty shall give the requisite attention to the matter, and in the meantime to continue the exploration of the country, but also to learn the language, and form relations and friendship with the leading men of the villages and tribes, in order to lay the foundations of a permanent edifice, as well for the glory of God as for the renown of the French."

It is well to observe the significance of these words from the pen of Champlain. Is this the language of a common fur-trader, simply seeking to increase his fortune? What were really Champlain's designs during all these years of labour and self-sacrifice? Was he animated by the mere curiosity of the tourist, or the ambition of a man of science? No. Champlain desired, it is true, to gain an intimate knowledge of the country, and his labours are highly valued as a geographer and cosmographer, but his intention was to utilize all his varied information to promote the Christian religion and at the same time to increase the renown of his native land.

Champlain deserves credit, not only for the idea of bringing missionaries to Canada, but also for having realized his ideas. He obtained the coöperation of many pious and zealous persons in France, who willingly seconded his efforts, but it was owing to his own steadfastness of purpose and to his great ability that his designs were successfully carried out. After having formed a society of merchants to take the material affairs of the colony in hand, Champlain tried to get some religious order to assume the direction of spiritual matters. He had previously made known his plan to Louis Hoüel, king's councillor, and comptroller of the salt works at Brouage, and sieur of Petit-Pré. Hoüel was an honourable and pious man, and a friend of Champlain. He told him that he was acquainted with some Récollets who would readily agree to proceed to New France. Hoüel met Father du Verger, a man of great virtue and ability, and principal of the order of the Immaculate Conception. Father du Verger made an appeal to his confrères, all of whom offered their services, and were ready to cross the ocean.

The cardinals and bishops who were then gathered at St. Denis for their great chapter, were in favour of the idea of sending the Récollets to their foreign missions, and promised to raise a fund for the maintenance of four monks, and the merchants of Rouen promised to maintain and convey at least six Récollets gratuitously. The king issued letters for the

future church of Canada. The pope's nuncio, Guido Bentivoglio, granted the requisite permission, in conformity with the pope's wishes, but the bull establishing the church was only forwarded on May 20th, 1618. The brief of Paul V granted to the Récollets the following privileges:

"To receive all children born of believing and unbelieving parents, and all others of what condition soever they may be, who, after promising to keep and observe all that should be kept and observed by the faithful, will embrace the truth of the Christian and Catholic faith; to baptize even outside of the churches in case of necessity; to hear confessions of penitents, and after diligently hearing them, to impose a salutary penance according to their faults, and enjoin what should be enjoined in conscience, to loose and absolve them from all sentences of excommunication and other ecclesiastical pains and censures, as also from all sorts of crimes, excesses, and delicts; to administer the sacraments of the eucharist, marriage and extreme unction; to bless all kinds of vestments, vessels and ornaments when holy unction is not necessary; to dispense gratuitously new converts who have contracted or would contract marriage in any degree of consanguinity, or affinity whatever, except the first or second, or between ascending and descending, provided the women have not been carried off by force, and the two parties who have contracted or would contract be Catholics, and there be just cause as

well for the marriages already contracted as for those desired to be contracted; to declare and pronounce the children born and issued of such marriages legitimate; to have an altar which they may decently carry, and thereon to celebrate in decent and becoming places where the convenience of a church shall be wanting."

The Reverend Father Garnier de Chapouin, provincial of the province of St. Denis, appointed four monks as the founders of the future mission. Their names were Father Denis Jamet, Jean d'Olbeau, Joseph Le Caron, and a brother named Pacifique du Plessis, who received orders to accompany them. These four monks were all remarkable for their virtue and apostolic zeal. Father Jamet was appointed commissary, and Father d'Olbeau was appointed his successor in the event of death. The king granted them authority to build one or more convents in Canada, and to send for as many monks as were required. It was impossible to send more than four of them during the first year.

On April 24th, 1615, the *St. Étienne* sailed from Honfleur, and one month later came to anchor at Tadousac. On June 25th, Father d'Olbeau was able to say mass in a small chapel built at the foot of Mountain Hill, Quebec.

Soon after his arrival at Quebec, Champlain set out for the falls, accompanied by Father Jamet. They reached the river des Prairies some days after, and on June 24th, Father Jamet celebrated a solemn

mass, at which Champlain and some others assisted. This was the first mass celebrated in Canada since the days of Jacques Cartier.

In the early days of the settlement these brave missionaries had to contend with many difficulties, which could be foreseen only by those who were acquainted with the existing state of affairs. Many of these difficulties arose from the fact that at least a fourth of the merchants of the company were members of the so-called reformed, or Calvinistic persuasion. It is easy to comprehend that the sympathies of these men would not incline towards the Catholic religion.

Champlain draws particular attention to the unfortunate results produced by the existence of different creeds. Differences arose, and divisions were created which sometimes resulted in quarrels between children of the same country. These quarrels which were much to be deplored, did not, however, occur in Quebec, because the French merchants did not deem it advisable to send their ministers there, but replaced them by agents who were often fanatical, and were for the Récollets a frequent source of bitterness and annoyance. The most of the disorders occurred on board the vessels, and were due to the fact that the crews were too hastily engaged.

The merchants, however, were bound to colonize the country with Catholic settlers, and de Monts was also bound by similar conditions. Moreover,

the terms of the patents expressly stipulated that this should be carried out. They were also forbidden to extend Calvinism among the savages. "This policy," says Bancroft, "was full of wisdom." The interpreters who could have greatly assisted the missionaries, proved on the contrary an obstacle to the development of the Catholic religion, for they refused to instruct the Récollets in the Indian languages, which they had learnt before the arrival of the missionaries.

Father Lalemant, a Jesuit, wrote in the year 1626: "This interpreter had never wanted to communicate his knowledge of the language to any one, not even to the Reverend Récollet Fathers, who had constantly importuned him for ten years." So also wrote Father Le Jeune in his Relation of 1633.

The difficulties that the missionaries had to overcome are therefore readily understood. However they had the merit of preparing the way for their successors, and the honour of planting the cross of Jesus Christ everywhere, from Tadousac to Lake Huron.

The number of missionaries was limited at the commencement, but some others came to Canada later, particularly Fathers Guillaume Poullain, Georges Le Baillif, and Paul Huet. These men, some of whom were of noble birth, were remarkable for their virtues and their abilities. In the annals of the primitive church of New France, their names are illustrious, and around their memory gathers

the aureole of sanctity. During six years, from 1615 to 1621, the spiritual direction of the colony was entrusted to six fathers and three friars. Father d'Olbeau remained in charge of the habitation of Quebec, and Father Le Caron resolved to proceed at once to the country of the Hurons.

On July 9th, 1615, Champlain, Étienne Brûlé, an interpreter, a servant, and ten Indians, set out for the mouth of the Ottawa River. They rowed up the river as far as the Mattawa, which they followed westwards, and soon reached Lake Nipissing where they stopped for two days. This was on July 26th. After having taken this short rest, they continued their voyage, crossing Georgian Bay, and reached the land of the Hurons. Near the shore they met the Attignaouantans, or people of the bear tribe, one of the four chief branches of the great Huron family. Their village or *bourgade* was called Otouacha. On the second day of August, Champlain's party visited the village of Carmaron, and two days later, they saw the encampments of Tonaguainchain Tequenonquiayé and Carhagouha. In the latter emcampment Father Le Caron resided.

On July 12th Father Le Caron celebrated mass and sang the *Te Deum*, after which the Indians planted a cross near the small chapel which had been erected under Champlain's direction. The reverend father occupied a hut within the palisade which formed the rampart of the village, and he

CHAMPLAIN ON THE SHORES OF GEORGIAN BAY, 1615

From the painting by Hummé

spent the fall and winter with the Hurons of Carhagouha.

The Huron country was situated between the peninsula watered by Lake Simcoe on the eastern side, and by the Georgian Bay on the western side. It extended from north to south between the rivers Severn and Nottawasaga. This land is twenty-five leagues in length and seven or eight in width. The soil, though sandy, was fertile and produced in abundance corn, beans, pumpkins and the annual helianthus or sun-flower, from which the Hurons extracted the oil. The neighbouring tribes, such as the Ottawas and the Algonquins, used to procure their provisions from the Hurons, as they were permanently cultivating their lands.

Champlain observed, in 1615, that there were eighteen *bourgades* or villages, of which he mentions five, namely: Carhagouha, Toanché, Carmeron, Tequenonquiayé and Cahiagué. Cahiagué was the most important, and had two hundred huts; it was also the chief *bourgade* of the tribe called de la Roche.

Four tribes of a common origin and a common language were living on the Huron peninsula. They were: (1.) The Attignaouantans, or Tribe de l'Ours; (2.) The Attignenonghacs, or Tribe de la Corde; (3.) The Arendarrhonons, or Tribe de la Roche; (4.) The Tohontahenrats. The general name given to these four tribes by the French was Ouendats.

The most numerous and the most respected of the tribes were the tribes de l'Ours and de la Corde,

which had taken possession of the country; the first about the year 1589, and the second twenty years after. The oldest men of these tribes related to the missionaries, in 1638, that their ancestors for the past two hundred years had been obliged to change their residence every ten years. These two tribes were very friendly, and in their councils treated each other like brothers. All their business was conducted through the medium of a captain of war and a captain of council.

These tribes became popular and increased their numbers by adopting members of other nations, so that in later years the Huron family became one of the most powerful and redoubtable in North America. The identity of language was a great factor in the accomplishment of this marvellous result. The Andastes, of the Susquehanna, for instance, spoke a language akin to the Huron. The Tionnontatés became so identified with their neighbours that they were named the Hurons of the Petun. The savages of the Neutral Nation had also adopted the Huron idiom. This uniformity of language formed a league between these nations which would have been broken with the utmost difficulty.

Father de Brébeuf calculated that, in his time, there were scattered over the whole continent of North America about three hundred thousand Indians who understood the Huron dialect. This was exaggerated, for the aborigines covering the territory known to the Hurons from whom the father

had collected this information did not number three hundred thousand persons. How could he rely upon these people, to whom a thousand men represented simply an amazing number? How could the Hurons make a census of an unsedentary people, wandering here and there according to circumstances of war or other reasons, and recruiting themselves with prisoners or with the remnants of conquered nations?

To give only one example of these strange recruitings, let us examine the composition of the great family of the Iroquois in Champlain's time. It was a collection of disbanded tribes, who had belonged to the Hurons, to the Tionnontatés, to the Neutral, to the Eries and du Feu tribes. The Iroquois had separated themselves from the Hurons to form a branch which acquired with time more virility than the tree from which it had sprung. The Hurons were called the good Iroquois in order to distinguish them from the wicked Iroquois who were reputed to be barbarous. These fought against all the nations living in Canada, and their name was a subject of general apprehension.

Returning to the Hurons, we find that the Attignaouantans, or the tribe de l'Ours, was the most populous, forming half of the whole Huron family, namely about fifteen thousand souls. They were considered, erroneously, as the most perfidious of all. Father de Brébeuf, who knew them well, says that they were mild, charitable, polite and

courteous. Some years later, the tribe de l'Ours occupied fourteen villages, with thirteen missions under the charge of the Jesuits. The whole mission, called Immaculate Conception, had its principal seat at Ossossané, which had replaced Carhagouha, mentioned by Champlain. The French called it La Rochelle. Ossossané was the nearest village of the Iroquois territory. Father du Creux' map places it on the western coast of the Huron peninsula.

The Attignenonghacs, or tribe de la Corde, were the oldest and the most numerous, after the Attignaouantans. They praised their antiquity and their traditions which had existed for two hundred years, and which had been collected by word of mouth by the chiefs or captains. This evidence, more or less valuable, seems to indicate that they had preserved a family spirit, which is very laudable. The Attignenonghacs, however, had founded a nationality, and their language was so developed that, in 1635, Father de Brébeuf could recall to memory twelve nations who spoke it. This tribe had no special features except that they were very devoted to the French. The Jesuits opened in their midst two missions called St. Ignace and St. Joseph. Teanaustayaé was one of the most important villages of the Attignenonghacs. When the village of Ihonatiria ceased to exist, the Jesuits called it St. Joseph. Here perished, in 1648, Father Daniel, together with seven hundred Hurons.

Toanché was another village of the same tribe. It has often changed its name, and we may consider it as one of these flying *bourgades* so commonly found among the Hurons. Champlain had known the village of Toanché under the name of Otouacha. When Father de Brébeuf came here for the second time, in 1634, he was unable to recognize the village that he had visited for the first time in 1626. It had been transported about two miles from its former place. It was then situated at the western entrance of a bay now Penetanguishene, on a point in the northern part of Lake Huron, four leagues from Ossossané and seven from Teanaustayaé.

The Arendarrhonons, or tribe de la Roche, were settled on the eastern part of the peninsula. They were at first discovered by the French, and they had, according to the laws of the country, the privilege of fur trading. They were especially attached to Champlain, and twenty-two years after his death they had not forgotten his remarkable virtues and courage. The *bourgade* of Cahiagué, comprising two hundred and sixty huts and two thousand souls, was the chief place of the Arendarrhonons. It was situated near the lake Ouentaron, now lake Simcoe, at the northern extremity, near the small town of Orillia. The Jesuits established a mission here, and their principal residence was on the right shore of a small river called the Wye, near Penetanguishene. The remains of a fort built there in 1639 could be seen a few years ago.

Cahiagué was distant from Carhagouha fourteen leagues. It was situated near the village of Scanonahenrat, where the Tohontahenrats, the fourth Huron tribe, resided. They were less numerous than the others. Scanonahenrat was situated at about two leagues from Ihonatiria of the Attignenonghacs, and at three leagues from the Ataronchronons, another Huron group of small importance, where finally the Jesuits took up their residence. When these missions were flourishing, the Jesuits could enumerate twenty-five different places where they could pursue their calling with zeal. The Récollets had continued their course with vigorous activity; they had sown the divine seed, but they were not permitted to reap the reward of their labours, as the Jesuits did in the future.

Although the Hurons appeared to be happy, their mode of living was miserable. Their principal articles of food were Indian corn and common beans, which they prepared in various ways. Their clothing was made of the skins of wild animals. Deer skin was used for their trousers, which were cut loose, and their stockings were made of another piece of the same skin, while their boots were formed of the skin of bears, beavers and deer. They also wore a cloak in the Egyptian style, with sleeves which were attached by a string behind. Most of them painted their faces black and red, and dyed their hair, which some wore long, others short, and others again on one side only. The women and girls were

dressed like men, except that they had their robes, which extended to the knee, girt about them. They all dressed their hair in one uniform style, carefully combed, dyed and oiled. For ornaments they wore quantities of porcelain, chains and necklaces, besides bracelets and ear-rings.

These people were of a happy temperament generally, though some had a sad and gloomy countenance. Physically they were well proportioned. Some of the men and women had fine figures, strong and robust, and many of the women were powerful and of unusual height. The greater portion of the work fell to the lot of the women, who looked after the housework, tilled the land, laid up a store of wood for the winter, beat the hemp and spun it, and made fishing nets from the thread. They also gathered in the harvest and prepared it for food. The occupation of the men was hunting for deer, fishing, and building their cabins, varied at times by war. When they were free from these occupations, they visited other tribes with whom they were acquainted for the purpose of traffic or exchange, and their return was celebrated by dances and festivities.

They had a certain form of marriage which Champlain thus describes. When a girl had reached the age of eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years, she had suitors, more or less, according to her attractions, who wooed her for some time. The consent of the parents was then asked, to

whose wills the girl did not always submit, although the most discreet of them did so. The favoured lover or suitor then presented to the girl some necklaces, bracelets or chains of porcelain, which she accepted if the suitor was agreeable to her. The suitor then resided with her for three or four days, without saying anything to her in the meantime, but if they did not agree, the girl left her suitor, who forfeited his necklaces and the other presents which he had made, and each was free to seek another companion if so disposed. This term of probation was often extended to eight, or even to fifteen days.

The children enjoyed great freedom. The parents indulged them too much and never punished or corrected them. As a consequence they grew up bad and vicious. They would often strike their mothers, and when they were powerful enough they did not hesitate to strike their fathers.

The Hurons did not recognize any divine power or worship of God. They were without belief, and lived like brute beasts, with this exception, that they had a sort of fear of an evil spirit. They had *ogni* or *manitous*, who were medicine-men, and who healed the sick, bound up the wounded, foretold future events, and practised all the abuses and illusions of the black arts.

Champlain firmly believed that the conversion of the Hurons to Christianity would have been easier if the country had been inhabited by persons who

would devote their energies to instructing them. Father Le Caron and himself had often conversed with them regarding the Catholic faith, the laws and customs of the French, and they had listened attentively, sometimes saying:

"You say things that pass our knowledge, and which we cannot understand by words, being beyond our comprehension; but if you would do us a service, come and dwell in this country, bringing your wives and children, and when they are here, we shall see how you serve the God you worship, and how you live with your wives and children, how you cultivate and plant the soil, how you obey your laws, how you take care of animals, and how you manufacture all that we see proceeding from your inventive skill. When we see all this we shall learn more in a year than in twenty by simply hearing your discourse; and if we cannot understand, you shall take our children, who shall be as your own. And thus being convinced that our life is a miserable one in comparison with yours, it is easy to believe that we shall adopt yours, abandoning our own."

The following was their mode of government. The older and leading men assembled in a council, in which they settled upon and proposed all that was necessary for the affairs of the village. This was done by a plurality of voices, or in accordance with the advice of some one among them whose judgment they considered superior; such a one was

requested by the company to give his opinion on the propositions that had been made, and his opinion was minutely obeyed. They had no particular chief with absolute command, but they honoured the older and more courageous men, of which there were several in a village, whom they named captains, as a mark of distinction and respect.

They all deliberated in common, and whenever any member of the assembly offered to do anything for the welfare of the village, or to go anywhere for the service of the community, he was requested to present himself, and if he was judged capable of carrying out what he proposed, they exhorted him, by fair and favourable words, to do his duty. They declared him to be an energetic man, fit for the undertaking, and assured him that he would win honour in accomplishing his task. In a word, they encouraged him by flatteries, in order that this favourable disposition of his for the welfare of his fellow-citizens might continue and increase. Then, according to his pleasure, he accepted or refused the responsibility, and thereby he was held in high esteem.

They had, moreover, general assemblies with representatives from remote regions. These representatives came every year, one from each province, and met in a town designated as the rendezvous of the assembly. Here were celebrated great banquets and dances, for three weeks or a month, according as they might determine. On these occasions they

renewed their friendship, resolved upon and decreed what they thought best for the preservation of their country against their enemies, and made each other handsome presents, after which they retired to their own districts.

In burying the dead, the Hurons took the body of the deceased, wrapped it in furs, and covered it very carefully with the bark of trees. Then they placed it in a cabin, of the length of the body, made of bark and erected upon four posts. Others they placed in the ground, propping up the earth on all sides that it might not fall on the body, which they covered with the bark of trees, putting earth on top. Over this trench they also made a little cabin. The bodies remained thus buried for a period of eight or ten years. Then they held a general council, to which all the people of the country were invited, for the purpose of determining upon some place for the holding of a great festival. After this they returned each to his own village, where they took all the bones of the deceased, stripped them and made them quite clean. These they kept very carefully, although the odour arising therefrom was noxious. Then all the relatives and friends of the deceased took these bones, together with their necklaces, furs, axes, kettles, and other things highly valued, and carried them, with a quantity of edibles, to the place assigned. Here, when all had assembled, they put the edibles in a place designated by the men of the village, and engaged in banquets and

continual dancing. The festival lasted for the space of ten days, during which other tribes from all quarters came to witness the ceremonies. The latter were attended with great outlays.

These details on the manners and customs of the Hurons are quoted nearly *verbatim* from Champlain's Relations, so they must be considered as accurate.[1]

[1] This is the volume which Champlain issued after his return to France in the year 1618. It was entitled *Voyages et Déscouvertures faites en la Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615, jusques à la fin de l'année 1618.* Par le Sieur de Champlain, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Mer de Ponant, MDCXIX. An English translation is given in the volume containing the *Voyages* 1604-18, ed. W. L. Grant, already referred to.

CHAPTER VI

WAR AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, 1615

CHAMPLAIN had promised for some years to assist the Hurons in their wars against the Iroquois, and he found that the present time was opportune for him to fulfil his pledge. He had visited every Huron tribe, and he was aware that a general rendezvous had been fixed at Cahiagué. On August 14th, 1615, ten Frenchmen, under the command of Champlain, started from Carhagouha. On their way they stopped at the villages of the Tohontahenrats and Attignenonghacs, and found the country well watered and cultivated, and the villages populous. The people, however, were ignorant, avaricious and untruthful, and had no idea either of a divinity or of a religion.

On August 17th, Champlain came in sight of Cahiagué, where the Hurons had gathered, and after some hesitation, they decided to go to war. The departure was delayed until September 1st, pending the arrival of some of their warriors and the Andastes, who had promised five hundred men. On their journey they passed by Lake Couchiching and Lake Ouantaron or Simcoe. From there they decided to proceed by way of Sturgeon Lake, after travelling by land for a distance of ten leagues.

From Sturgeon Lake flows the river Otonabee, which discharges into Rice Lake.

They followed the river Trent to the Bay of Quinté in Lake Ontario or Entouronotons. "Here," says Champlain, "is the entrance of the great river of St. Lawrence." They leisurely crossed Lake Ontario, and, having hidden their canoes, penetrated the woods and crossed the river Chouagen or Oswego, which flows from Lake Oneida where the Iroquois used to fish.

On October 9th the Hurons had approached within four leagues of the fortifications of their enemies, and on that day eleven Iroquois fell into the hands of Champlain's men, and were made prisoners. Iroquet, the chief of the Petite Nation, prepared to torture the prisoners, among whom were four women and four children, but Champlain strongly opposed this course. The Iroquois were engaged in reaping their corn when the Hurons and their allies appeared before them on October 10th, or five weeks after Champlain had started from Cahiagué. During this period Champlain's army had undergone much fatigue, and it was desirable to take some rest.

The first day was spent in petty skirmishes. Instead of fighting in ranks, the Hurons disbanded, and were consequently liable to be seized by the vigilance of their enemies. Champlain recognized the danger of this method of warfare, and persuaded his companions to preserve their ranks. The last

combat continued for about three hours, during which Ochateguin and Orani, two of the allied chiefs, were wounded. Champlain also received two arrow wounds, one in the leg and one in the knee. There was great disorder in the ranks of the Hurons, and the chiefs had no control over their men. The result, on the whole, was not in favour of Champlain's allies, who in the absence of the Andastes were not anxious to continue the attacks against the Iroquois, and consequently determined to retreat as soon as possible.

Champlain suffered much from his wounds. "I never found myself in such a gehenna," he says, "as during this time, for the pain which I suffered in consequence of the wound in my knee was nothing in comparison with that which I endured while I was carried, bound and pinioned, on the back of one of the savages."

The retreat was very long, and on October 18th they arrived at the shore of Lake Ontario. Here Champlain requested that he might have a canoe and guides to conduct him to Quebec, as this was one of the conditions to which they had agreed before he set out for the war. The Indians were not to be trusted, however, and they refused his request. Champlain, therefore, resolved to accept the hospitality of Darontal, chief of the Arendarrhonons, or tribe de la Roche. The chief appeared kindly disposed towards Champlain, and as it was the hunting season, he accompanied him on his excur-

sions. During one of these expeditions, Champlain lost his way in the pursuit of a strange bird, and he was not found by the savages until three days afterwards. The return journey to Cahiagué on foot was painful, and during the nineteen days thus spent, much hardship was undergone. The party arrived at Cahiagué on December 23rd, 1615.

In the course of the winter, Champlain was chosen to act as judge of a quarrel between the Algonquins of the Petite Nation, and the Hurons of the tribe de l'Ours, which had arisen over the murder of one of the Iroquois. The Attignaouantans had committed an Iroquois prisoner to the custody of Iroquet, requesting him to burn him according to their custom. Instead of carrying out this act, Iroquet had taken the young man and treated him as a son. When the Attignaouantans were aware of this, they sent one of their number to murder the young Iroquois. This barbarous conduct made the Algonquins indignant, and they killed the murderer.

Champlain returned from the Petuneux in company with Father Le Caron at the time when these crimes had just been committed. Witnesses were summoned to meet Champlain at Cahiagué, and were each examined. The trial lasted two days, during which the old men of both nations were consulted, and the majority of them were favourable to a reconciliation without conditions. Champlain exacted from them a promise that they would ac-

cept his decision as final, and he then had a full meeting of the two tribes assembled there. Addressing them, he said:

"You Algonquins, and you Hurons, have always been friends. You have lived like brothers; you take this name in your councils. Your conduct now is unworthy of reasonable men. You are enough occupied in repelling your enemies, who have pursued you, who rout you as often as possible, pursuing you to your villages and taking you prisoners. These enemies, seeing these divisions and wars among you, will be delighted and derive great advantage therefrom. On account of the death of one man you will hazard the lives of ten thousand, and run the risk of being reduced to perpetual slavery. Although in fact one man was of great value, you ought to consider how he has been killed; it was not with deliberate purpose, nor for the sake of inciting a civil war. The Algonquins much regret all that has taken place, and if they had supposed such a thing would have happened, they would have sacrificed this Iroquois for the satisfaction of the Hurons. Forget all, never think of it again, but live good friends as before. In case you should not be pleased with my advice, I request you to come in as large numbers as possible, to our settlement, so that there, in presence of all the captains of vessels, the friendship might be ratified anew, and measures taken to secure you from your enemies."

Champlain's advice was followed, and the savages went away satisfied, except the Algonquins, who broke up and proceeded to their villages, saying that the death of these two men had cost them too dearly.

Champlain having spent the winter with Darontal, on May 20th left for Quebec. The journey from Cahiagué to Sault St. Louis occupied forty days. Champlain here found that Pont-Gravé had arrived from France with two vessels, and that the reverend fathers were very pleased to see him again. Darontal accompanied Champlain to Quebec, and greatly admired the habitation and the mode of living adopted by the French. Before leaving for France, Champlain enlarged the habitation by at least one-third, the additions consisting of buildings and fortifications, in the construction of which he used lime and sand which were found near at hand. Some grain was also cut, and the gardens were left in good condition.

During the winter of 1615-16, Father Le Caron had received a visit from Champlain, who had just returned from an expedition against the Iroquois. Being anxious to see as many Indian tribes as possible, Champlain and the Récollet resolved to pay a visit to the Tionnontatés, or the Tobacco Nation. The missionary was not well received by these people, although Champlain was able to make an alliance, not only with the Petuneux, but also with six or seven other tribes living in the vicinity.

Father Le Caron returned to his flock, the Hurons, and remained with them until May 20th, studying their manners, trying to acquire their language, and to improve their morals. Father Le Clercq says that he compiled a dictionary which was seen in his own time, and which was preserved as a relic.

When the Hurons left their country to engage in fur trading with the French at Sault St. Louis, Father Le Caron took passage in one of their canoes, and arrived at Three Rivers on July 1st, 1616. Here he met Father d'Olbeau, who had spent the winter with the Indians on the north shore of the river St. Lawrence, between Tadousac and the Seven Islands.

Father d'Olbeau had visited the Bersiamites, the Papinachois and others, and he planted crosses everywhere, so that many years after, when some Frenchmen were visiting the place, they found these evidences of his labours. After two months of fatigue, Father d'Olbeau was compelled to return to Quebec, as he was suffering from sore eyes, and was unable to unclose his eyelids for several weeks. The two fathers arrived at Quebec on July 11th, 1616, and Father Jamet was pleased to learn the result of the missions of his confrères. The three missionaries had carefully studied the country during the past year, and gained a fair knowledge of the people. They realized at this time that their own resources limited their power of doing good,

and they therefore requested Champlain to convoke a meeting of six inhabitants, to discuss the best means of furthering the interests of the mission. Champlain was chosen president of the meeting, and although the missionaries were present they took no part in the deliberations.

The resolutions adopted at this first council meeting in the new settlement were preserved. It was decided that the nations down the river and those of the north were, for the present, at least, incapable of civilization. These tribes included the Montagnais, Etchemins, Bersiamites, Papinachois and the great and little Esquimaux. They dwelt in an uncultivated, barren and mountainous country, whose wild game and fur-bearing animals sufficed to support them. Their habits were nomadic, and excessive superstition was their only form of religion. By the report of those who had visited the southern coasts, and had even penetrated by land to Cadie, Cape Breton and Chaleurs Bay, Ile Percé and Gaspé, the country there was more temperate, and susceptible of cultivation. There would be found dispositions less estranged from Christianity, as the people had more shame, docility and humanity than the others.

With regard to the upper river and the territory of the numerous tribes of Indians visited by Monsieur de Champlain and Father Joseph themselves, or by others, besides possessing an abundance of game, which might attract the French there in hopes of trade, the land was much more fertile and

the climate more congenial than in the Indian country down the river. The upper river Indians, such as the Algonquins, Iroquois, Hurons, Nipissirini, Neuters, Fire Nation, were sedentary, generally docile, susceptible of instruction, charitable, strong, robust, patient; insensible, however, and indifferent to all that concerns salvation; lascivious, and so material that when told that their soul was immortal, they would ask what they would eat after death in the next world. In general, none of the savages whom they had known had any idea of a divinity, believing, nevertheless, in another world where they hoped to enjoy the same pleasures as they took here below—a people, in short, without subordination, law or form of government or system, gross in religious matters, shrewd and crafty for trade and profit, but superstitious to excess.

It was the opinion of the council that none could ever succeed in converting them, unless they made them men before they made them Christians. To civilize them it was necessary first that the French should mingle with them and habituate them to their presence and mode of life, which could be done only by the increase of the colony, the greatest obstacle to which was on the part of the gentlemen of the company, who, to monopolize trade, did not wish the country to be settled, and did not even wish to make the Indians sedentary, which was the only condition favourable to the salvation of these heathen.

The Protestants, or Huguenots, having the best share in the trade, it was to be feared that the contempt they showed for the Catholic mysteries would greatly retard the establishment of that faith. Even the bad example of the French might be prejudicial, if those who had authority in the country did not establish order.

The mission among such numerous nations would be painful and laborious, and so could advance but little unless they obtained from the gentlemen of the company a greater number of missionaries free of expense. Even then it would require many years and great labour to humanize these utterly gross and barbarous nations, and even when this end was partially attained, the sacrament, for fear of profanation, could be administered only to an exceptional few among the adults.

It finally appears to have been decided that they could not make progress unless the colony was increased by a greater number of settlers, mechanics and farmers; that free trade with the Indians should be permitted, without distinction, to all Frenchmen; that in future Huguenots should be excluded, and that it was necessary to render the Indians sedentary, and bring them up to a knowledge of French manners and laws.

The council further agreed that by the help of zealous persons in France, a seminary ought to be established in order to bring to Christianity, young Indians, who might afterwards aid the mis-

sionaries in converting their countrymen. It was deemed necessary to maintain the missions which the fathers had established both up and down the river. This could not be done unless the associated gentlemen showed all the ardour to be expected from their zeal when informed of all things faithfully, instead of being deluded by the reports of the clerks whom they had sent the year before; the governor and the fathers having no ground to be satisfied therewith.

Champlain, who intended to return to France, desired the father commissary and Father Le Caron to accompany him, in order that the resolutions of the council might be submitted to the king for his approval, and with a view of obtaining substantial assistance. The voyage was a pleasant one, and Champlain and his party arrived at Honfleur on September 10th, 1616.

The merchants whom they interviewed at Paris were ready to promise to support the mission, but nothing was realized from their promises, and it soon became apparent that they cared more about the fur trade than about religion. Champlain saw many people who he believed could assist the settlement, but the winter was passed in useless negotiations. He therefore prepared a greater shipment than usual from his own resources, and he was fortunate in finding that his old friend, Louis Hébert, an apothecary of Port Royal, was willing to accompany him. Hébert took his family with

him, composed of three children and his wife, named Marie Rollet. Hébert afterwards rendered very valuable assistance to the founder of Quebec.

Father Jamet did not return to Quebec, and he was therefore replaced as commissary by Father Le Caron, who appointed Father Huet as his assistant. The vessel conveying the party sailed from Honfleur on March 11th, 1617, under the command of Captain Morel. The passage was very rough, and when within sixty leagues of the Great Bank of Newfoundland, numerous icebergs bore down on the ship like huge mountains. Father Le Clerq says that in the general consternation Father Joseph, seeing that all human succour could not deliver them from shipwreck, earnestly implored the aid of heaven in the vows and prayers which he made publicly on the vessel. He confessed all, and prepared himself to appear before God. All were touched with compassion and deeply moved when Dame Hébert raised her youngest child through the hatchway to let it share with the rest the good father's blessing. They escaped only by a miracle, as they acknowledged in their letters to France.

The ship arrived at Tadousac on June 14th, and mass was said in a little chapel which Father Huet had constructed with poles and branches, and a sailor stood on either side of the altar with fir branches to drive away the cloud of mosquitoes which caused great annoyance to the celebrant. The mass was very solemn. Besides the French,

there were many Indians present who assisted with devotion amid the roar of the cannon of the ship, and the muskets of the French. After the service a dinner was given by the captain on board the vessel. On the arrival of the party at Quebec some days after, they found that the inhabitants were nearly starving, and that Father d'Olbeau was anxiously awaiting the news from France.

Both Champlain and Father Le Caron were obliged to confess that their mission had been unsuccessful. What, therefore, was to be done? To return to Old France would have been contrary to the intentions of the Récollets. They had been sent to Canada by their superiors, and they had no order to act contrary to their instructions. After having studied the situation they resolved that Father d'Olbeau should visit France, see the king in person, and place before him the settlers' condition and their own. During his absence Father Huet undertook the charge of the mission at Tadousac, and Brother Pacifique du Plessis was appointed to teach catechism to the Indians of Three Rivers.

It was at about this time that Father Le Caron performed the first marriage ceremony in Canada, the contracting parties being Étienne Jonquest of Normandy, and Anne Hébert, eldest daughter of Louis Hébert.

The condition of the Récollets at this time was unenviable. The agents of the merchants were not better disposed towards them than the interpreters.

Some of these agents were demoralized, and the reproach that they received from the fathers caused them to avoid their presence. The conduct of some of these agents was so bad that even the Indians, who were not strict in their morals, were scandalized. When we take into consideration these circumstances, and the meagreness of the resources of the order, and the difficulties they had in acquiring the language, we can form a faint idea of the hardness of their lot, and it was not without just cause that they decided to send Father d'Olbeau to France with Champlain, in order that the true state of affairs might be urged still further before the king.

Father Le Clercq says: "Meanwhile Monsieur de Champlain employed all his address and prudence, and the intrigues of his friends to obtain what was necessary for the establishment of his new colony. Father d'Olbeau, on his side, spared nothing; both spoke frequently to the members of the company, but in vain, for these people, who always had their ears open to flattering tales of the great profit to be made in the Indian trade, closed them to the requests and entreaties made them. They therefore contented themselves with what they could get."

Father d'Olbeau at length received some consolation and compensation for all his labours, when a bull was issued by the pope, granting a jubilee to New France, which was celebrated at Quebec on July 29th, 1618, and was the first of its kind. For the celebration of this religious festival, the Récollets

had built some huts, which were used as stations, and French and Indians proceeded from one of those improvised chapels to the other, singing the psalms and hymns of the church. In the year 1618, the Récollets in New France were only three in number: Fathers Le Caron and d'Olbeau, and Friar Modeste Guines.

During the winter of 1617-18 the missionaries were called upon to decide a difficult question. Two Frenchmen had disappeared in 1616, and the discovery of their bones proved that they had been murdered. A diligent search was instituted which led to the detection of the murderer, who acknowledged his crime. The question of punishment, however, was difficult from the fact that a clerk named Beauchesne, who had been invested with extensive civil power by Champlain, was in the habit of receiving gifts from the Indians. It was consequently considered dangerous to do anything that would displease the Indians, as they were known to be terrible in their vengeance. The Récollets had strongly protested against this method of receiving gifts, which placed the settlement in a false position towards the Indians. It was finally decided to release the prisoner and to accept as hostages two young Indians. When the matter was brought before Champlain, he approved of the course adopted, and stated that it was not a wise policy to be too severe.

This affair, which at one time appeared likely to

produce disagreeable consequences, passed over without event, and some time after a party of Indians visited Quebec for the purpose of effecting a complete reconciliation. Thus, when Champlain left for France in 1618, the colony was secure.

Father Huet, who accompanied Champlain, was charged with many important missions, one of which related to the administration of baptism to the Indians. They were quite willing to be baptized, but they had no idea of the nature of the sacrament, and although they promised to keep their vows before the ceremony, they soon returned to their old superstitions. Their want of sincerity was a trial to Father Huet, and he desired to have the opinion of the Doctors of the Sorbonne to guide him in his future actions.

During the winter Father Le Caron went to Tadousac in order to continue the work of Father d'Olbeau, and he remained there until the middle of July, 1619. In the interval he had built a residence upon the ground donated by the merchants, and had the satisfaction of leaving one hundred and forty neophytes as the result of the labours of the mission. Father d'Olbeau had his residence at Quebec.

On his return to Canada Father Huet was accompanied by Father Guillaume Poullain, three friars and two labourers. Champlain did not return this year. The Récollets had received authority to build a convent at Quebec, and the Prince de

Condé had contributed fifteen hundred livres towards the object. Charles de Boues, vicar-general of Pontoise, had also made a personal subscription, and accepted the protectorate of the convent, together with the title of syndic of Canadian missions. Other piously disposed persons had also contributed towards the maintenance of the religious institution.

The establishment of a convent in Canada was a ray of light amid the gloom which had hung over the settlement of New France during the past four years, but the rejoicing on this occasion was soon turned into mourning by the unexpected death of Friar du Plessis, who died at Three Rivers on August 23rd, 1619. There were two other deaths during this year which cast a shadow on the colony, that of Anne Hébert, and of her husband, Étienne Jonquest, who survived his wife only a few weeks.

The mission at Three Rivers was placed under the charge of Father Le Caron, and from this date it was the object of the most pastoral solicitude of the Récollets.

CHAPTER VII

THE FUR TRADE

THE earliest reference by Champlain to the fur trade in Canada, is contained in his relation of his voyage to Tadousac in the year 1603. During this journey he encountered a number of Indians in a canoe, near Hare Island, among whom was an Algonquin who appeared to be well versed in the geography of the country watered by the Great Lakes. As a proof of his knowledge, he gave to Champlain a description of the rapids of the St. Lawrence, of Niagara Falls and Lake Ontario. When questioned as to the natural resources of the country, he stated that he was acquainted with a people called the good Iroquois (Hurons) who were accustomed to exchange their peltry for the goods which the French had given to the Algonquins. We have in this statement proof that the French were known to the inhabitants of New France before the year 1603.

In the year 1608, trading was conducted with the Indians at Tadousac, but in 1610 it was alternately at Tadousac, and near Cape de la Victoire at the entrance of the Richelieu River. During the years 1610-11, the fur trade was a failure, although the vessels annually carried from twelve to fifteen

thousand skins to France, which were sold at one pistole each. From the year 1610, Tadousac ceased to be the rendezvous of traders, and the great centre was at Sault St. Louis, until the year 1618. From this time, for several consecutive years, Three Rivers was the principal trading-post, and finally the Indians went down to Quebec, or to Cape de la Victoire, or du Massacre, and at a still later period the Isle of Richelieu, opposite the parish of Deschambault, some fifteen leagues above Quebec, was chosen as a trading-place.

Champlain was not opposed to the fur trade; on the contrary, he favoured it, provided that it was conducted honestly, as it afforded him opportunities for making new discoveries, and also for maintaining friendly relationship with the Indians. The Récollets had no connection with the trade, although through their efforts commercial intercourse was often facilitated.

Speaking of the trading of 1618, Champlain mentions a class of men who eventually attained considerable influence in colonial affairs. These men were the factors or clerks employed and paid by the merchants. Some of them obtained notoriety on account of their treason and bad conduct, while others were distinguished by their devotedness to Champlain and the missionaries. The clerks or factors were engaged by the fur trading merchants who had their principal factory at Quebec. The staff consisted of a chief clerk, of clerks and underclerks;

and their functions were to receive merchandise on its arrival, to place it in the store, and when the trading was complete, to exchange the goods for skins, which were then carefully packed for exportation. The clerks visited the places chosen by the Indians for trading, and generally conducted the exchanges themselves. Some of them employed the services of interpreters who were readily found, and were frequently sent among the natives to induce them to visit the clerks. The duties of the clerks were not always easily performed. They had many difficulties to encounter, but as successful trading might lead to future promotion, there were advantages connected with the office. Thierry-Desdames, one of the underclerks at Quebec in 1622, was appointed captain of the Island of Miscou, in recognition of his faithful service. This is not the only instance of promotion recorded by Champlain. Beauchesne and Loquin are also mentioned in the Relations of 1618 and 1619.

When Champlain returned from France in 1620, he was accompanied by Jean Baptiste Guers, the business representative of the Duke of Montmorency, who rendered good service to Champlain and the settlers. In the same year Pont-Gravé traded at Three Rivers, and he was assisted by two clerks called Loquin and Caumont, and an underclerk, Roumier. Before leaving for France, Pont-Gravé placed Caumont in charge of his factory. Roumier also left for France, under the pretext that the

company refused to increase his wages. The departure of a clerk, however, was of small importance, when we consider the trouble which had arisen among the associates.

In the year 1612, Champlain, it appears, had placed too much confidence in the influence of Henri de Condé, viceroy of New France. This nobleman proved to be a source of trouble rather than a friend to the new colony. Two years after, Champlain formed an association of the merchants of St. Malo and Rouen, who invested their capital for the development of trade in Canada. The chief members of the company were François Porrée, Lucas Legendre, Louis Vermeulle, Mathieu d'Insterlo, Pierre Eon, Thomas Cochon, Pierre Trublet, Vincent Gravé, Daniel Boyer and Corneille de Bellois. By its constitution the operations of the company were to extend over a period of eleven years, and its members engaged to maintain the habitation of Quebec, and a fort, and to build new forts if necessary, and also to pay the expenses of missionaries, and to send labourers and workmen to Canada. The Prince de Condé received a salary of three thousand livres, and the payment of this large amount annually to the viceroy, caused the merchants to neglect their obligations towards Champlain, who was to be Condé's lieutenant in New France.

In the meantime Condé conspired against the Queen Regent and was incarcerated, and the Maréchal de Thémines was temporarily appointed in his

place. The office of secretary to the viceroy would appear to have been lucrative, for one applicant, probably Boyer, offered Thémines four thousand five hundred livres, if he would appoint him to the position. Condé protested against the change which had been made against his agreement, and asked for his salary. De Villemenon, intendant of the admiralty, opposed the application, and claimed the amount of the salary for the Quebec settlement.

While Champlain was in France in 1617 he was told of a proscription from the court of parliament of Paris, ordering him to resign his office of lieutenant of the viceroy, as the Company of Rouen had decided to suppress the salary of the viceroy. Champlain did not take any notice of this injunction, but started for Quebec. On his return to France during the same year (1617) Champlain met the Maréchal de Thémines, in order to induce him, in his capacity of viceroy, to take some interest in the affairs of New France, as the situation there was becoming insupportable. The great personages were quarrelling over money matters; the Estate of Brittany were renewing their demands for freedom of trade, and the merchants were refusing to invest new capital. Champlain had a series of difficulties, which he endeavoured to remove before his return to Quebec, and he drew up his proposals in two large memorials, one of which was presented to the king, and the other to the Chamber of Commerce of Paris.

In the memorial to the king Champlain explained that France would derive benefit from the colonization of Canada, provided workmen and labourers were sent to the country. He also set forth the necessity of improving the defense of the colony, as an attack might be expected at any time from the English or Dutch. Champlain pointed out to the king, at the same time, that by developing New France, he would be propagating the Catholic faith amongst infidels, and that he would add to his wealth by reason of the revenue to be derived from the vast forests of Canada. He also made known to the king some of the projects which he had in view. Amongst these were certain buildings and works which he proposed to carry out. Quebec was to be named *Ludovica*, in honour of the king. A church was to be erected and dedicated under the title of *Redeemer*, and a fort was to be constructed on the cape of Quebec, flanked with four bastions, which would command the river St. Lawrence. A second fort was to be built opposite Quebec, which would complete the defense of the face of the town, and a third fort would be constructed at Tadousac on a promontory naturally fortified, to be manned by a garrison which would be relieved every six months.

These arrangements would provide for the defense of the country. Champlain also intended to look after the education and the spiritual wants of the settlement, by sending fifteen friars of the

Récollet order to New France, who were to found a convent near the Church of the Redeemer. The king was also asked to send three hundred families to the colony, each composed of a husband and wife and two children or a servant under twenty years of age. With these provisions Champlian believed that a settlement might be established in the name of France, which would remain loyal to her interests, since it would rest upon the sure foundation of strength, justice, commerce, and agriculture.

In his explanations to the Chamber of Commerce Champlain dwelt upon the advantages which were to to be derived from fishing, from the lumber industry, agriculture and cattle raising, and from the working of the mines and from trading. In short he endeavoured to induce the associates to continue their operations. The members, however, were under the impression that colonization would place obstacles in the way of commerce, and that the inhabitants would soon monopolize the trade. Some of the associates who were Protestants objected to colonization under Catholic influence, and understanding that Champlain was a staunch Catholic, they decided to have Pont-Gravé appointed as lieutenant of the viceroy, in his place.

Champlain was much affected on finding that he had a rival in Pont-Gravé whom he had always respected as a father, neither would he accept such a humiliating position. The king, however,

intervened at this time, and wrote a letter to the associates, requesting them to aid Champlain.

"BY THE KING.

"DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED:—On the report made to us that there has hitherto been bad management in the establishment of the families and workmen sent to the settlement of Quebec, and other places of New France, we write to you this letter, to declare to you our desire that all things should proceed better in future; and to tell you that it will give us pleasure that you should assist, as much as you conveniently can, the Sieur Champlain in the things requisite and necessary for the execution of the commands which he has received from us, to choose experienced and trusty men to be employed in the discovery, inhabiting, cultivating, and sowing the lands; and do all the works which he shall judge necessary for the establishment of the colonies which we desire to plant in the said country, for the good of the service and the use of our subjects; without, however, on account of the said discoveries and settlements, your factors, clerks, and agents in the traffic of peltry, being troubled or hindered in any way whatever during the term which we have granted you. And fail not in this, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris March 12th, 1618. (Signed) "LOUIS."

(And below) "POTIER."

The merchants brought their affairs before the

notice of the Council of Tours, who decided that Champlain should retain his position. The action of the council was a victory for Champlain, but it was soon followed by another still more agreeable. The associates promised to provide for the organization of emigration during the following year on a scale which would assure the success of the settlement. By this arrangement eighty persons, including three Récollet fathers, would arrive in New France during the year 1619. In order to have the proceedings regularly conducted, Champlain caused papers to be prepared by notaries, which were signed on December 21st, 1618, by Pierre du Gua and Lucas Legendre in the name of the associates, and also by Vermeulle, Corneille de Bellois and Mathieu d'Insterlo. The document is as follows:

"List of persons to be sent to, and supported at, the settlement of Quebec for the year 1619.

"There shall be eighty persons, including the chief, three Récollet fathers, clerks, officers, workmen and labourers. Every two persons shall have a mattress, a paillasse, two blankets, three pairs of new sheets, two coats each, six shirts, four pairs of shoes, and one capote.

"For the arms:—Forty musquets, with their bandoliers, twenty-four pikes, four arquebuses à rouet [wheel-lock] of four to five feet, one thousand pounds of fine powder, one thousand pounds of powder for cannon, one thousand pounds of balls, six thousand pounds of lead, and a match-stump.

"For the men:—A dozen scythes with their handles, hammers, and other tools; twelve reaping-hooks, twenty-four spades, twelve picks, four thousand pounds of iron, two barrels of steel, ten tons of lime (none having been then found in this country), ten thousand curved, or twenty thousand flat tiles, ten thousand bricks to build an oven and chimneys, two mill-stones (the kind of stone fit for that purpose was not discovered till some years afterwards).

"For the service of the table of the chief:—Thirty-six dishes, as many bowls and plates, six saltcellars, six ewers, two basins, six pots of six pints each, six pints, six chopines (about half a pint) six demy-septiers, the whole of pewter, two dozen table-cloths, twenty-four dozen napkins.

"For the kitchen:—A dozen of copper boilers, six pairs andirons, six frying-pans, six gridirons.

"Shall also be taken out:—Two bulls of one year old, heifers, and as many sheep as convenient; all kinds of seed for sowing.

"The commander of the settlement shall have charge of the arms and ammunition which are actually there, and of those which shall afterwards be sent, so long as he shall be in command; and the clerk or factor who shall reside there shall take charge of all merchandise; as well as of the furniture and utensils of the company, and shall send a regular account of them, signed by him, by the ships.

"Also shall be sent, a dozen mattresses complete, like those of families, which shall be kept in the

magazine for the use of the sick and wounded, etc., etc.

"Signed at Paris, December 21st, 1618, and compared with the original [on paper] by the undersigned."

Champlain submitted this document to the king, who approved it, but nevertheless the associates were afterwards unwilling to fulfil its conditions. The Prince de Condé having been discharged from prison on October 20th, 1619, the king restored to him his commission of viceroy, and the Company of Rouen granted him a thousand crowns.

The prince gave five hundred crowns to the Récollets for the construction of a seminary at Quebec, and this was his only gift to the settlement of New France. The prince afterwards sold his commission as viceroy to the Duke of Montmorency, Admiral of France, for the sum of eleven thousand crowns. Dolu, grand almoner of the kingdom, was appointed intendant. The duke renewed Champlain's commission as lieutenant of the viceroy, and at the same time advised him to return to Quebec to strengthen his positions everywhere, in order that the country might be secure against invasion.

The patronage of Montmorency greatly encouraged Champlain, for the duke exercised great power. He therefore resolved to take his young wife to Quebec with him, for she had never been to Canada. Champlain concluded his private business

in France, and took all his effects to the new settlement, as he had determined to take up his residence there. Before leaving France, all the difficulties in connection with his command were removed, and the king wrote him a very gracious letter, in which His Majesty expressed his esteem for his loyal and faithful subject.

The change of viceroy soon brought a further change. Dolu made inquiry into the affairs of the Rouen company, and finding how they had neglected their obligation to take out colonists for New France, recommended to the Duke of Montmorency that the monopoly should be taken from them. This was decided upon, and a new company was organized under the management of two brothers Caën, merchants of Rouen. The new company received the monopoly of trade for eleven years on practically the same conditions as their predecessors (articles of date November 26th, 1620). Time was to show that the Caën company would be no more zealous to fulfill their obligations than their predecessors. But for the moment matters looked more hopeful. Champlain remained in ignorance of this change until the arrival of the vessels in the spring of 1621, when he received letters from M. de Puiseux, *secrétaire des commandements du roi*, from the intendant Dolu, from de Villemenon, intendant of the admiralty, from Guillaume de Caën, the head of the new association, and from the viceroy. The last is here given:—

"MONSIEUR CHAMPLAIN: For several reasons I have thought fit to exclude the former Company of Rouen and St. Malo from the trade with New France, and to assist you and provide you with everything necessary, I have chosen the Sieurs de Caën, uncle and nephew, and their associates: one is a good merchant, and the other a good sea captain, who can aid you well, and make the authority of the king respected in my government. I recommend you to assist him and those who shall apply to you on his part, so as to maintain them in the enjoyment of the privileges which I have granted them. I have charged the Sieur Dolu, intendant of the affairs of the country, to send you a copy of the treaty by the first voyage, so that you may know to what they are bound, in order that they may execute their engagement, as, on my part, I desire to perform what I have promised.

"I have taken care to preserve your appointments, as I believe you will continue to serve the king well.

"Your most affectionate and perfect friend,

"MONTMORENCY.

"From Paris, February 2nd, 1621."

The letter of Louis XIII was also satisfactory:

"CHAMPLAIN: I have perceived by your letters: of August 15th, with what affection you work at your establishment, and for all that regards the good of my service: for which, as I am thankful to you, so I shall have pleasure in recognizing it to

your advantage whenever the occasion shall offer: and I have willingly granted some munitions of war, which were required to give you better means to subsist and to continue in that good duty, which I promise myself from your care and fidelity."

"Paris, February 24th, 1621. Louis."

It was in this manner that the sentence of death was given to the old company.

Several members of the old Company of Rouen and St. Malo were incorporated in the Company of Montmorency, which was composed of Guillaume de Caën, Ezechiel de Caën, Guillaume Robin, three merchants of Rouen; François de Troyes, president of the treasury of France at Orleans; Jacques de Troyes, merchant; Claude Le Ragois, receiver-general of finance at Limoges; Arnould de Nouveau; Pierre de Verton, councillor, and secretary of the king; and François Hervé, merchant of Paris. The two brothers de Caën belonged to the reformed religion.

Dolu advised Champlain to restrain the hands of the clerks of the old company, and to seize all the merchandise in the magazine. He claimed that although this measure was rigorous, it was justified by the fact that the company had not fulfilled its obligations towards the settlement of New France. De Villemenon's letter was dictated in much the same terms. Guillaume de Caën gave notice that he would soon arrive in Quebec with arms and stores for the settlement. Dolu's letter regarding the sei-

zure of merchandise was couched in terms that might be considered imperative, nevertheless Champlain deemed it prudent to act with caution, and he therefore conferred with Father George Le Baillif, Guers and Captain Dumay[1] on the subject.

The old company had some clerks at Quebec, who after hearing of the contents of Dolu's letter, were prepared to resist any curtailment of their rights. Champlain appeased them, and assured them that they would be allowed freedom of trading at least until the arrival of Guillaume de Caën, the extent of whose authority was not yet known.

Caumont, the chief clerk, declared that he was satisfied with this arrangement, but nevertheless the situation was difficult. If the king had given the order to confiscate the merchandise, then Dumay, whose visit to Canada was for the purpose of fur trading, would become the king of commerce in New France, and therefore he had nothing to lose in awaiting de Caën's arrival. He proceeded at once to Tadousac, but instead of meeting de Caën, he found that Pont-Gravé had arrived as the representative of the old company, and that he had with him seventy-five men and some clerks.

Champlain was much distressed on receiving

[1] His correct name was Dumé *dit* Leroy. He made a single voyage to Quebec, and he had on board Jean Baptiste Guers, delegate of the Duke of Montmorency. Dumé was born at St. Gomer de Fly, Beauvais. A member of his family, who resided at Havre de Grâce, was one of the chief consignees of the company of St. Christophe in the West Indies.

these tidings, for he foresaw a conflict which would possibly entail bloodshed. The clerks also were despondent. In order to avoid a quarrel, Champlain deemed it advisable to protect his men, and he therefore installed his brother-in-law, Eustache Boullé, and Captain Dumay with sixteen men, in the small fort which he had erected at Cape Diamond during the preceding year. Champlain defended himself within the habitation, where he quartered all the men he could dispose of. If the clerks were inclined to fight he would defend his position, but he hoped that these precautionary measures would prove the means of preventing bloodshed.

On June 7th, 1621, three of the clerks of the old company arrived from Tadousac and took up their quarters near the habitation. Father Le Baillif and Jean Baptiste Guers asked them to produce their papers. They declared that they had authority to trade from the old Company of Rouen, which still existed through articles agreed to by the Duke of Montmorency, and that a trial was at present pending between the two societies. On receiving this information from Father Le Baillif, Champlain decided to allow five clerks the necessary merchandise for trading; they were, however, told that the old company had been dissolved, and that the new company only was invested with authority to trade. The clerks were satisfied with Champlain's decision, but they objected to the presence of armed

soldiers in the fort, which they claimed was not in accordance with the king's commands. The clerks finally went to Three Rivers to carry on their trade.

On June 13th, Pont-Gravé arrived at Quebec. Here he was questioned as to his authority, although he was treated with the respect and courtesy due to his age and character. Pont-Gravé assured Champlain that the disputes between the two companies would be resolved in a friendly way, and that he had received news to this effect before he sailed from Honfleur. He then started for Three Rivers to join his clerks.

A month after these events, a clerk named Roumier, in the employ of de Caën, arrived with letters from Dolu, de Villemenon, and Guillaume de Caën, and left a copy of an order-in-council in favour of the old company. Champlain also received a letter from the king. The order-in-council granted permission to both companies to trade during the year 1621, provided that both should contribute equally towards the maintenance of the captains, soldiers, and the inhabitants of Quebec.

Foreseeing a conflict between de Caën and Pont-Gravé, Champlain went to Tadousac, and advised de Caën to respect Pont-Gravé's authority. De Caën replied that he could not do so, as he had received authority privately from the king. Champlain therefore assumed the command of Pont-Gravé's vessel, in order to protect his old friend, and thus it happened that this affair which threat-

ened to produce serious consequences, was smoothed over through Champlain's intervention. Pont-Gravé then took possession of his vessel in the presence of de Caën, who offered no opposition, and a few days after they both returned to France.

De Caën had promised to send twenty-five men to Quebec, but he sent only eighteen. A certain quantity of stores was also brought to Quebec at this time by Jacques Halard, and a number of halberds, arquebuses, lances, and many barrels of powder, which were delivered in the presence of Jean Baptiste Varin, who had been sent by Guillaume de Caën, and J. B. Guers.

Father Georges Le Baillif also left for France during the autumn, as a delegate from the inhabitants of the settlement, who had prepared a memorandum of their grievances. This document was signed by Champlain, Father Jamet, Father Le Caron, Louis Hébert, Guillaume Couillard, Eustache Boullé, Pierre Reye, Olivier Le Tardif, J. Groux, Pierre Desportes, Nicholas and J. B. Guers. On his arrival in France, Father Le Baillif had an interview with the king, and placed the memorandum in question in His Majesty's hands. The king admitted that the complaints were well founded, but at the same time he stated that it was impossible to grant all that was requested. The Huguenots were to retain their commercial liberty, and Champlain obtained some supplies, and his salary,

which was formerly six hundred livres, was increased to twelve hundred.

Father Le Baillif's mission was unfruitful, for he brought word of the amalgamation of the two companies, whose chiefs were Guillaume de Caën, Ezechiel de Caën, and their nephew, Emery de Caën. The order-in-council establishing this large company granted to them the liberty of trading in New France, and all French subjects were eligible for admission to the society. By this arrangement the de Caëns were obliged to pay the sum of ten thousand livres to the members of the old Rouen association, and a sum equal to the value of their goods, barques and canoes. The old company received five-twelfths of the Company of Montmorency, one-twelfth of which was reserved by de Monts, who was at that time living at his residence in Saintonge. By this latter arrangement, however, the de Caëns were relieved from the payment of the ten thousand livres imposed upon them by the order-in-council. When Father Le Baillif returned to Quebec in the spring of 1622, all the old rivalry had disappeared. The Company of Rouen had adopted the name of the Company of Montmorency with the de Caëns as chiefs.

The principal articles stipulated in the agreement were:—

1. Champlain to be lieutenant of the viceroy, with precedence on land, and to command the habitation of Quebec, and to have command of all the

French residents in New France. Ten men were also to be placed at his disposal, who were to be maintained at the expense of de Caën, who was also to pay to each an annual sum of twenty livres.

2. The company was also to maintain six Récollet fathers, two of whom were to be engaged in missions to the savages.

3. The company was to support and maintain six families of labourers, carpenters and masons, during the period of the agreement, the families to be changed every two years.

4. The company was to pay the sum of twelve hundred francs as a salary to Champlain.

5. Champlain was to enjoy the privilege of trading for eleven years, and to this term the king added another eleven years.

The first man to bring the news of a change of authority was a clerk named Santein, but it was confirmed some days after by the arrival of Pont-Gravé and Guillaume de Caën, who were accompanied by a clerk named Le Sire, an underclerk named Thierry-Desdames,[1] and Raymond de la Ralde. De Caën handed to Champlain a letter from the king, who advised him to recognize the authority of the new company, and also to endeavour to maintain peace and harmony. When de Caën had

[1] Thierry-Desdames arrived at Quebec in 1622, as underclerk of the company, which position he occupied until 1628. We lose trace of him after that date, but we find him again in 1639 at Miscou Island, where he served as captain. He was a good Catholic, charitable, and a friend of the Jesuits.

completed his trading at Three Rivers he sailed again for France, leaving Pont-Gravé as chief clerk at Quebec, and Le Baillif as underclerk at Tadousac.

In order to establish good order throughout the country, Champlain published certain ordinances, which should be regarded as the first code of Canadian laws. Although it was desirable to maintain peace, it was also necessary to prepare to resist the attacks of the Iroquois, who were becoming more and more active. A party of the Iroquois had approached Quebec, and were observed to be rambling in the vicinity of the Récollets' convent, on the north shore of the River St. Charles. They finally made an attack, but they were repulsed with loss by the French and the Montagnais, whose chief was Mahicanaticouche, Champlain's friend. This chief was the son of the famous Anadabijou, who had contracted the first alliance with the French at Tadousac in 1603.

In the year 1623, the vessels arrived from France later than usual, and the rendezvous took place at Cape de la Victoire on July 23rd. On this occasion the following persons were present: Champlain, Pont-Gravé, Guillaume de Caën, Captain Duchesne, des Marets, De Vernet, Étienne Brûlé, an interpreter, Loquin, a clerk, Father Nicholas Viel, and Brother Sagard-Théodat.

On his return to Quebec, Champlain declared that certain sailors had appropriated a number of

beaver skins, and he therefore confiscated them and had them placed in the store, pending the decision of the company. This infraction of the rules of commerce was trifling when compared with the contraband which was carried on freely in the lower St. Lawrence. The merchants of La Rochelle and the Basques were the most notorious in this respect. Their vessels were constantly sailing from one shore to another, trading furs, although they had no authority to do so. They were found at Tadousac, at Bic, and at Green Island. The Spanish, English and Dutch vessels also carried on an illegitimate trade in the same waters. Champlain mentions the fact that a Spanish captain, whose vessel was anchored at Green Island, had sent his sailors at night to Tadousac, in order that they might watch what was being done, and hear what was being said on board the *Admiral*.

At the commencement of the spring of 1624, a dark cloud hung over New France. The winter had been severe, and provisions were scarce. Champlain had only four barrels of flour in the store, so that he was anxiously awaiting assistance. On June 2nd he received good news. A vessel of sixty tons was anchored at Tadousac, laden with pease, biscuits and cider. To the starving settlement this was most welcome, and some days after Guillaume de Caën arrived with still more provisions.

After having traded at Three Rivers, de Caën visited Quebec, the Island of Orleans, and the

ARRIVAL OF MADAME CHAMPLAIN AT QUEBEC, 1624

From a painting by Frank Craig in the Public Archives of Canada

vicinity of Cape Tourmente and the neighbouring islands. He was now the proprietor of these lands, having received them as a gift from the Duke of Montmorency.

Champlain now resolved to recross the ocean, and to take with him his young wife, who had spent four years in Quebec. Emery de Caën was given the command of the settlement in the absence of Champlain. On August 21st two ships sailed from Tadousac, having on board Champlain, Hélène Boullé, Pont-Gravé, Guillaume de Caën, Father Piat, Brother Sagard, J. B. Guers, Joubert, and Captain de la Vigne. At Gaspé, Raymond de la Ralde and a pilot named Cananée joined the party. The voyage was brief and pleasant to Champlain's party, but Cananée's ship was captured by the Turks, and its commander was put to a cruel death.[1]

[1] Cananée was one of the most famous French navigators of his time. From 1608 to 1624 he used to fish on the banks of Miscou and in the gulf. He was at first captain and co-proprietor of the *Mouton*, a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons, but some years later, he commanded the *Ste. Madeleine*, a ship of fifty tons. It was this vessel that the Turks captured on the coast of Bretagne. Cananée was a fervent Catholic.

CHAPTER VIII

CHAMPLAIN, THE JESUITS AND THE SAVAGES

THE first inhabitants of the settlement of New France were the interpreters, clerks, and workmen, employed by the merchants. They were termed the winterers, in opposition to the captains and sailors who visited the colony for the purpose of trading only. The interpreters present an interesting feature in the life of the new colony. Their functions rendered it necessary for them to reside for an indefinite period with an Indian tribe, in order to qualify themselves to act as interpreters for their countrymen during trade, or for the missionaries while catechising or providing other religious exercises. A daily intercourse with the Indians was absolutely essential in order to induce them to keep their appointments with the traders at the established rendezvous. The interpreters had seldom any other occupation, although some of them acted as clerks, and thereby received a larger salary, in addition to a certain number of beaver skins which they could exchange for goods.

Étienne Brûlé and Nicholas Marsolet, who arrived at Quebec with Champlain in the year 1608, acted as interpreters, but at first they did not meet with much success. They were, however, both young

and intelligent, and Brûlé soon acquired a knowledge of the Huron language, while Marsolet mastered the idiom of the Algonquin tongue. Brûlé spent nearly all his life among the Hurons, who adopted him as a member of their family, while Marsolet accompanied the Algonquins to Allumette Island, and became one of their best friends. Historians of Canada mention the names of many other interpreters of this period, some of whom founded families, while others afterwards returned to France. In the year 1613 three interpreters arrived, Nicholas du Vignau, Jacques Hertel, and Thomas Godefroy. In the year 1618 there was only one arrival, Jean Manet, who took up his residence among the people residing on the shores of Lake Nipissing.

In the year 1619 Jean Nicolet came to Canada, and won great esteem in the country of his choice. He was the father of a large family, the descendants of whom are very numerous. Three more interpreters came in 1621, Du Vernet, Le Baillif, and Olivier Le Tardif, and two in 1623, namely, Jean-Paul Godefroy and Jacques Couillard, and finally in 1624 Jean Richer and Lamontagne, thus making twelve interpreters between the years 1608 and 1625. Of this number the two Godefroys, Marsolet, Nicolet, Hertel, and Le Tardif were distinguished on account of the part which they took in Canadian affairs; and the knowledge which they had obtained of the native languages rendered them competent to

discuss delicate questions relating to the welfare of the colony. Their services to the authorities, both civil and religious, were therefore at certain periods exceedingly valuable.

It is among the second class of settlers, or winterers, as they were termed that we may fittingly seek for the founders of the Canadian race. From the year 1608 to 1613 not a single settler or head of a family came to Canada, but at this latter date we find the names of Abraham Martin, Nicholas Pivert and Pierre Desportes. They were married and brought their wives and families with them. Abraham Martin and Pierre Desportes had each a daughter, and Pivert had a niece. Guillaume Couillard arrived during the same year, but he was a bachelor. We have already spoken in a previous chapter of the return of Champlain from France in the year 1617, on which occasion he was accompanied by Louis Hébert and his family. There also arrived in 1617, Étienne Jonquest, to whom we have likewise referred. In 1618 another family took up its residence in New France, namely Adrien Duchesne, surgeon, and his wife. Eustache Boullé, brother-in-law to Champlain, came over in 1618, and two families arrived in 1619, but they were immediately sent back, as the occupation of the head of one of the families was that of a butcher, and the other was a needle manufacturer, and there was no opening for either in a new settlement. In the year 1620,

the settlers gave a cordial welcome to Hélène Boullé, who was attended by three female servants. From the year 1620 to 1625, history is silent as to new arrivals. Champlain had made every effort to induce settlers to take up their residence in Quebec, but the population was still very scanty.

There were really only seven settled families at this time, composed of twenty persons, seven men and seven women, and six children. Their names were as follows:—Abraham Martin and his wife Marguerite Langlois, and his two daughters, Anne and Marguerite; Pierre Desportes and his wife Françoise Langlois, and a girl named Hélène; Nicholas Pivert and his wife Marguerite Lesage, and their niece; Louis Hébert and his wife Marie Rollet, and a son named Guillaume; Adrien Duchesne and his wife; Guillaume Couillard, his wife, Guillemette Hébert, and a girl named Louise; Champlain and his wife Hélène Boullé.

When Abraham Martin came to Quebec, he was twenty-four years of age. The official documents refer to him as king's pilot, and the Jesuits named him Maître Abraham, while to the people he was Martin l'Ecossais. His family gave to the Catholic Church of Canada her second priest in chronological order. This priest, who was born at Quebec, was named Charles Amador. After having served as a mariner for the Company of Rouen, Abraham Martin became a farmer, and was the proprietor of two portions of land, consisting of thirty-two

acres.[1] He received twenty acres of land from Adrien Duchesne, and twelve acres from the Company of New France, on December 4th, 1635.[2] This property was named the Plains of Abraham, and all the ground in the immediate vicinity gradually assumed the same title. A part of the famous conflict fought on September 13th, 1759, and known as the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, actually occurred on the ground owned by Abraham Martin, and thus it is that the name of this first settler has been perpetuated in prose and verse.

Louis Hébert, the son of a Parisian apothecary, followed the profession of his father in Canada. He first tried to establish himself at Port Royal, where we find him in the year 1606. He left Port Royal in 1607, but he appears to have returned there, as in the year 1613 he is mentioned as acting as lieutenant in the place of Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt. When Port Royal was abandoned, Hébert returned to France, where he met Champlain, who induced him to turn his steps towards Canada once more. Soon after his second visit to New France, he commenced to build a residence in the Upper Town of Quebec, upon the summit of Mountain Hill. This building, which was of stone, measured thirty-eight feet in length, and was nineteen feet broad.

[1] For a plan of Abraham Martin's property, see, *The Story of the Siege and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham,* by A. G. Doughty.

[2] See *Deed of Concession,* p. 414, Trans. R. S. C., 1899, by A. G. Doughty.

It was in this house that Father Le Jeune said mass when he came to Quebec in 1632. Hébert received some concessions of land from the companies, and at once commenced to cultivate it, so that he was able to live from its produce. Champlain praises him for this course. Hébert died in the year 1627, from mortal injuries caused by a fall. He was buried in the cemetery of the Récollets, at the foot of the great cross, according to his desire.

The Récollet fathers lived until the year 1620 in their humble residence near the chapel and habitation of Quebec, in the Lower Town. In the year 1619 they employed some workmen to fell trees on the shores of the River St. Charles, near an agreeable tract of land which Hébert had cleared. It was situated at half a league from the habitation, and the people of Quebec hoped at that time to build the town there. During the winter each piece of timber was prepared for the building, and the savages assisted in the work. On June 3rd, 1620, the first stone of the convent was solemnly laid by Father d'Olbeau. The arms of the king were engraved upon the stone near those of the Prince de Condé. The convent was finished and blessed on May 25th, 1621, and dedicated to Notre Dame des Anges. It was on this date that the name of St. Charles was given to the river Ste. Croix, or the Cabir-Coubat of the Indians, in honour of the Reverend Charles de Ransay des Boues, syndic of the Canadian missions.

There were six Récollet fathers at Quebec in 1621, and two brothers. Fathers Guillaume Galleran and Irénée Piat came in 1622, the former in the capacity of visitor and superior. A coincidence of their arrival was the induction of the first religious novitiate. Pierre Langoissieux, of Rouen, took the monastic habit under the name of Brother Charles, at a special ceremony in the presence of Champlain and his wife, and some Frenchmen and Indians. Three young men also received the small scapulary of the Franciscan order. Father Piat left Quebec for the Montagnais mission, while Father Huet was sent to Three Rivers, and Father Poullain to the Nipissing mission in the west. In the year 1623, Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, the historian of the Huron mission, arrived. They were entertained at the convent of Notre Dame des Anges. At the solemn Te Deum, which was sung in the chapel on this occasion, there were present seven fathers and four brothers. Fathers Le Caron and Viel, and Brother Sagard arranged for some Indian guides to conduct them to the Huron country, where they arrived on July 23rd. The party spent the winter among the Hurons, and during the following year Brother Sagard was recalled to France by his superiors. The Récollets continued to conduct services in the small chapel in the Lower Town, which served as the parochial church of Quebec.

In the year 1624 the French colony was placed

under the patronage of Saint Joseph, who has remained from that date the patron saint of Canada. Champlain was at this time in France, and had met Montmorency at St. Germain-en-Laye, after the Récollets had complained of the conduct of the Huguenots. While the missionaries were celebrating mass, the Huguenots annoyed them by singing psalms, and they occupied the poop-royal on board the vessels for their services, while the Catholics were compelled to assemble in the forecastle, without distinction of persons. The Récollets also complained of the negligence of the associates, who had not provided for the material requirements of the mission. Father Piat set forth that while the missionaries were prepared to sacrifice their health and their mother country in order to civilize the Indians, they were not ready, under the circumstances, to die simply for the want of food, when it was the duty of the associates to provide for them. Father Piat also suggested the advisability of forming a seminary for young Indians, as a means of developing their moral character, of teaching them the rudiments of religion, and whereby the Récollets might acquire a knowledge of the Indian language. Realizing that they were unable to found such an institution alone, they decided to ask assistance from the Jesuits, who had great influence at court, and who might possibly be able to establish such a building from their own resources. If these resolutions had been known, the

Huguenots would doubtless have prevented the Jesuits' departure, but the news was only made public when it was too late to formulate any opposition.

Champlain, who was at this time endeavouring to induce the merchants to carry out their engagements, thought it advisable not to take any part in urging the requests of the mission, for fear of compromising its success, and he considered it the best policy to be very discreet. Father Coton, provincial of the Jesuit order, accepted with pleasure the proposals of the Récollets, as the order was always glad of an opportunity of preaching the gospel in distant lands. The Jesuits had already founded the Acadian mission, but its results had much disappointed their hopes. Champlain was pleased to learn that the desire of the Récollets was accomplished, although he had taken no part towards its fulfilment. Indeed his services were fully employed elsewhere. The old merchants were fighting with the new ones, the dispute arising from the different methods of recruiting crews for their ships.

These petty quarrels, which were constantly brought to the notice of Montmorency, caused him much annoyance, and he consequently resigned his position of viceroy in favour of his nephew, Ventadour, peer of France and governor of Languedoc, for a sum of one hundred thousand livres. The king gave his assent to the transaction, and Henri de Lévis, duc de Ventadour, received his commission,

dated March 25th, 1625. He is described as a pious man, who had no other desire than the glory of God. The duke appointed Champlain as his lieutenant, and ordered him to erect forts in New France wherever he should deem it necessary, and empowered him to create officers of justice to maintain peace and harmony.

Endued with such powers, Champlain did not hesitate to continue his work. The duke's appointment was also received with favour by the Récollets and Jesuits. The associates were not friendly disposed towards the Jesuits, but seeing that they did not ask any assistance from them, they made no opposition to their departure for Canada.

Guillaume de Caën took with him on his vessel three Jesuit fathers and two brothers. These were Fathers Charles Lalemant, Jean de Brébeuf and Enemond Massé. The brothers were François Charton and Gilbert Burel. Father Lalemant, formerly director of the college of Clermont, was appointed director of the mission. Champlain speaks of him as a very devoted and zealous man. Father Massé had been previously in Acadia, where he proved his devotedness to the Indians. Father de Brébeuf, the youngest of the three, was distinguished by reason of his mature judgment and great prudence. The number of the Récollets was increased by the arrival of Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, a man of noble and exalted character.

De Caën's vessel sailed from Dieppe, and although

the voyage was long, it was a pleasant one. When the Jesuits reached Quebec, they met with strong opposition from the clerks, and there was no residence prepared for them. The only course which appeared open to them was to return to France, unless they could find a lodging with the Récollets.

In the meantime the clerks circulated a pamphlet amongst the families of the settlement, with a view to creating a prejudice against the Jesuits. It was *L'Anticoton*,[1] a libellous communication, which had been proven false by Father Coton. The Récollets at once extended a courteous invitation to the Jesuits, which they gratefully accepted, and took up their residence in the convent. The Récollets also begged them to accept as a loan the timber work of a building which had been prepared for their own use.

The gratitude of the Jesuits under these circumstances, is not sufficiently well known. Father Lale-

[1] Father Mariana, a Jesuit, having published a book entitled, *De Regi et Regis Institutione*, in which he denounced tyranny and its fomenters, the court ordered that the work should be burnt, under the pretext that Ravaillac, who had assassinated Henri IV, had taken advantage of the Jesuit's authority to excuse his murder. It was certain that the Jesuits were the best friends of the late king. Nevertheless, they had to suffer the hostility of a certain part of the secular clergy. Father Coton, a Jesuit, published at once a pamphlet under the title, "Is it lawful to kill the tyrants?" in which he taught that it is not lawful to kill a king, except he abuses his authority. An answer to the pamphlet, published anonymously, soon appeared, which was a satirical paper rather than a refutation of Father Coton's letter. During the same year a new satirical paper against the Jesuits was printed, entitled *L'Anticoton*. It was translated into Latin.

mant's letter addressed to the Provincial of the Récollets in France, admirably sets forth their position, and will be read with interest by every student of this portion of our history.

"Reverend Father: Pax Christi. It would be too ungrateful were I not to write to your Reverence to thank you for the many letters lately written in our favour to the Fathers who are here in New France, and for the charity which we have received from the Fathers, who put us under eternal obligation. I beseech our good God to be the reward of you both. For myself, I write to our Superiors that I feel it so deeply that I will let no occasion pass of showing it, and I beg them, although already most affectionately disposed, to show your whole holy order the same feelings. Father Joseph will tell your Reverence the object of his voyage, for the success of which we shall not cease to offer prayers and sacrifices to God. This time we must advance in good earnest the affairs of our Master, and omit nothing that shall be deemed necessary. I have written to all who, I thought, could aid it, and I am sure they will exert themselves, if affairs in France permit. Your Reverence, I doubt not, is affectionately inclined, and so *virtus unitas*, our united effort, will do much. Awaiting the result, I commend myself to the Holy Sacrifice of your Reverence, whose most humble servant I am.

"Charles Lalemant."

"Quebec, July 28th, 1625."

The Jesuits accepted the hospitality of the Récollets until the convent which they built on the opposite side of the river St. Charles, was ready for their habitation. It was situated near the entrance of the river Lairet, about two hundred paces from the shore. We shall meet them there a little later, working hard, in common with the Récollets with whom they were good friends, for the civilization of the Indians.

When Guillaume de Cäen returned to France, he was summoned to appear before the tribunal of the state council, as he had not put into effect all the articles of his contract. The chief complaint against him was that the admiral or commodore of the fleet was not a Catholic. For this appointment, however, he was not responsible, as it was made by the associates, and he therefore summoned them to give their explanations before the admiralty judge. The case was finally settled by His Majesty's council in favour of Guillaume de Caën, on the condition that he should at once appoint a Catholic. Raymond de la Ralde was the officer of his choice.

Champlain started at once for Dieppe, together with Eustache Boullé whom he appointed his lieutenant, and Destouches, his second lieutenant. Their departure for Canada occurred on April 24th, 1626, and there were five vessels in the squadron: the *Catherine*, two hundred and fifty tons, commanded

by de la Ralde;[1] *La Flèque*, two hundred and sixty tons, with Emery de Caën as vice-admiral; *L'Alouette*, eighty tons, and two other vessels, one of two hundred tons, and the other of one hundred and twenty tons.

Champlain was on board the *Catherine*, and he arrived at Percé on June 20th. Before anchoring at Tadousac, Emery de Caën caused his crew to assemble on deck, and he there informed them that the Duc de Ventadour desired that psalms should not be sung, as they had been accustomed to sing them on the Atlantic. Two-thirds of the crew grumbled at this order, and Champlain advised de Caën to allow meetings for prayer only. This ruling was judicious, although it was not accepted with pleasure.

At Moulin Baude, near Tadousac Bay, Champlain received intelligence that Pont-Gravé, who had wintered at Quebec, had been very ill, and that the inhabitants had resolved to leave the country at the earliest opportunity owing to the sufferings which they had endured from famine.

When Champlain arrived at Quebec on July 5th, 1626, he found all the settlers in good health, but

[1] Raymond de la Ralde who was a Catholic, was the first captain of the island of Miscou, the history of which commenced in 1620. Guillaume de Caën appointed de la Ralde as his lieutenant to protect the trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence against the Basques and others, especially at Percé, Gaspé, and Miscou. From the year 1627, de la Ralde ceased to be of importance, as his fortunes followed the de Caëns.

little had been done towards the building of the fort, or towards repairing the habitation. He, therefore, set twenty men to work at once. Emery de Caën left Quebec in order to carry on trade with the Indians. There were at Quebec at this time fifty-five persons, of whom eighteen were labourers. Champlain wished to have ten men constantly employed at the fort, but Guillaume de Caën had promised them elsewhere, and the merchants obliged them to work at the habitation, which they considered more useful than the fort. Champlain, however, did not agree with them on this point.

The oldest fortification of Quebec was commenced in the year 1620, on the summit of Cape Diamond, and the work was continued in 1621, when Champlain was able to establish a small garrison within the walls. Communication was opened between the habitation and the fort during the winter of 1623-4, by means of a small road, less abrupt than the former one. The fort was named Fort St. Louis.

In April 1624, a strong wind carried away the roof of the fort, and transported it a distance of thirty feet, over the rampart. During this storm the gable of Louis Hébert's residence was also destroyed. This accident caused some delay to the works, and the merchants still maintained their opposition to the construction of the fort. "If we fortify Quebec," they said, "the garrisons will be the masters of the ground, and our trade will be over." Guillaume de Caën supported the opposition by saying that the

Spaniards would take possession of New France, if a boast were made of its resources. The king, finally, had to undertake the defence of the colony alone.

Before leaving for France in 1624, Champlain had ordered the workmen to gather fascines for the completion of the fort, but upon his return to Canada, two years later, he found that nothing had been done. Champlain therefore decided to demolish the old fort, and to construct a more spacious one with the old materials, composed of fascines, pieces of wood and grass, after the Norman method. The fort was flanked with two bastions of wood and grass, until such time as they could be covered with stone. The fort was ready for habitation at the commencement of the year 1629, and Champlain took up his residence there at this date, with two young Indian girls whom he had adopted as his children. After the capitulation of Quebec in 1629, Louis Kirke resided in the fort with a part of his crew.[1]

Although Champlain was not satisfied with the conduct of the merchants towards the French, he was nevertheless pleased with the Indian tribes. This noble care and management of these poor natives constitute one of the brightest pages of his life. If we wish to form an impartial judgment of the heroic qualities of Champlain, we must study his daily relations with the chiefs of the various

[1] Champlain died within Fort St. Louis, and the Governor Montmagny had the building restored under the title of Château St. Louis, which name it bore until its complete demolition.

tribes. It is here that his true character is revealed to us, and we are forced to admire both the patience and care which he bestowed upon these people, and also his exercise of diplomacy which rendered him from the first the most beloved and respected of the French. His word commanded passive obedience, and to maintain his friendship they were willing to make any sacrifice which he desired. In this respect Champlain was more successful than the missionaries, nor is it a matter of surprise that his memory was cherished among the Indians longer than that of Father Le Caron or of Father de Brébeuf. In their appreciation of character, the Indians recognized instinctively that the calling of the missionaries rendered their lives more perfect than that of a man of the world, but the special characteristics and virtues of each did not escape their penetration. Champlain took every care to preserve his friendship with the Indians, not only on his own account, but also for the sake of the traders, and of commerce generally, for his name acted as a safe-conduct. Champlain had another ambition. He realized that if he could induce the Indians to gather in the vicinity of Quebec, they would prove a means of defence against the incursions of enemies. It seems to have been a good policy, and the Jesuits who adopted the same means had reason to be satisfied with their action.

In the year 1622 Champlain tried to establish the Montagnais near Quebec. Miristou, their chief, was willing, and they began to cultivate the land in the

vicinity of La Canardière, on the north shore of the river St. Charles. By living in the midst of such a community, Champlain hoped to be able to derive new information regarding the country.

The sempiternal question of an open sea, admitting a free passage from Europe to China, was constantly under the consideration of navigators. Whether or not the founder of Quebec believed in this passage, we are not prepared to assert, as he does not make any definite statement, but from his Relations it is evident that he hoped to ascertain whether it were possible to reach the far west by means of the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. He knew that he could serve the interest of the mother country by obtaining new data, and his opinions were well received in France, although the recent wars had somewhat engrossed public attention. The travels of the Récollets in the Huron country had not resulted in the discovery of new territory, and the interpreters had nothing further to do than to discover new tribes with whom trade might be developed. Western Canada had consequently been neglected both for the want of explorers and of resources, as Champlain was of course unable to explore the whole American continent, and at the same time govern the colony of New France, where his presence was required as much as possible.

Champlain tried to effect an alliance with the Iroquois during the year 1622, and for this purpose

he sent two Montagnais to their country as delegates. In the meantime a double murder occurred in the colony. A Frenchman named Pillet and his companion were murdered by an unknown party. The facts were brought to the notice of the court in France, and it was decided to pardon the murderer on the condition that he would confess his crime, and publicly ask for pardon. Champlain appears to have been anxious to assert his authority, on this occasion, for the prevention of such crimes, but the merchants were inclined to condone the offence, and one day Guillaume de Caën in the presence of Champlain and some captains, took a sword, and caused it to be cast into the middle of the St. Lawrence, in order that the Indians might understand that the crime even as the sword, was buried forever. The effect of this action was otherwise than desired. The Hurons ridiculed the affair, and said that they had nothing to fear in the future if they murdered a Frenchman.

The murderer was a Montagnais, and the tribe consequently approved of this lack of justice. Champlain, however, desired a more severe imposition of the law. The Montagnais were perhaps the most dangerous of Champlain's allies, especially as their treachery was marked by the outward appearance of serious friendship. In the Montagnais were united all the vices of the other Indian tribes as well as the bad features of some of the Europeans, especially those of the Rochelois and Basques. They

were bold and independent, but Champlain soon showed them, by ceasing to care for them, that he was not to be imposed upon. Fearing to lose the friendship of Champlain, they endeavoured to regain the position which they had in a measure lost; but instead of remaining passive, they boasted of the ease with which they could find protectors and advocates amongst the French. This conduct did not please Champlain, who would have preferred to find a people more amenable to natural laws, which are in themselves a defence against murder.

The Montagnais who had been sent to the Iroquois returned to Quebec in July, 1624. They had been courteously received, and as a result of their negotiations, a general meeting of the Indians was held at Three Rivers. There might be seen Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais, Iroquois, and the French with their interpreters. The meeting was conducted with perfect order. There were many speeches, followed by the feast pantagruelic. The war hatchet was buried, so that Champlain could leave for France without being very anxious as to the fate of his compatriots.

The alliance of 1624 did not last long, however, owing to the imprudence of the Montagnais who had journeyed to the Dutch settlement on the banks of the Hudson and promised to assist the settlers in their wars against the Mohicans and Iroquois. Champlain interfered, and reminded the Montagnais that they were bound to observe the treaty of 1624, and

there was no reason to break it. "The Iroquois," said Champlain, "ought to be considered as our friends as long as the war hatchet is not disinterred, and I will go myself to help them in their wars, if necessary."

This language pleased the chief of the Montagnais, and he asked Champlain to send some one to Three Rivers, if he could not go himself, in order to prevent the other nations from fighting against the Iroquois. Eustache Boullé was sent on this delicate mission, but as opinion was divided as to the advisability of the war, it was decided to wait until the arrival of the vessels. Emery de Caën arrived soon after, and hastened to meet the allies, who, according to rumour, were preparing to go to war against the Iroquois. In addition to this a party had gone to Lake Champlain, where they had made two Iroquois prisoners, who were, however, delivered by the murderer of Pillet.

Champlain and Mahicanaticouche arrived in the meantime, whereupon a general council was held. Champlain severely blamed the authors of this escapade, the consequences of which might be terrible. It was resolved to send a new embassy to the Five Nations at once, composed of Cherououny, called *Le Réconcilié* by the French, Chimeourimou, chief of the Montagnais, Pierre Magnan, and an Iroquois, adopted when young by a Montagnais widow. The delegates left for Lake Champlain on July 24th, 1627. One month after, an Indian came to Quebec with

the news that the four delegates had been murdered by the Tsonnontouans. Magnan had murdered one of his compatriots in France, and by coming to Canada had evaded justice.

This massacre put an end to thoughts of peace. In September some Iroquois were known to be *en route* for Quebec, evidently with hostile motives. It was just at this time that a number of savages were coming from a distance of fifty or sixty leagues to fish in the river St. Lawrence. Nothing serious happened from the visit of the Iroquois, and Champlain was able to visit his habitation at Cape Tourmente without danger. In his absence, however, a double murder was committed at La Canardière. Two Frenchmen, one named Dumoulin, and the other Henri, a servant of the widow Hébert, were found dead, having been shot with muskets.

The murderer's intention had been to kill the baker of the habitation, and a servant of Robert Giffard, the surgeon. Champlain was anxious to punish this murderer, but the difficulty was to discover him. Champlain summoned all the captains of the Montagnais, and having set forth all the favours which he had bestowed upon the nation, contrasted them with the conduct which he had received at their hands since 1616. There had already been four murders of which they were guilty. Champlain therefore demanded that they should find and give up the guilty party. One Montagnais who was suspected, was examined, but he denied everything.

Champlain, however, ordered him to be detained in jail until the real criminal should be found.

During the winter of 1628, about thirty Montagnais, miserable and hungry, came to the habitation, asking for bread. Champlain took this opportunity of pointing out to them the evil of their race, and of the crimes they had committed. They declared that they knew nothing whatever of the crime, and to show that they were not responsible they offered three young girls to Champlain to be educated. Champlain accepted them and treated them as his own children, naming them *Foi*, *Espérance*, and *Charité*.

After having kept the Montagnais in jail for fourteen months he was released, as there was no proof against him. Champlain learned soon after that he was not guilty, and that the real criminal was dead, being none other than Mahicanaticouche, one of the captains of the Montagnais.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE OR HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

IN spite of Champlain's strenuous efforts, the permanent existence of New France seemed as yet problematical. At a time when internal peace was imperative the domination of the mercantile companies came to increase the distress of the struggling colony. The difficulties of colonization likewise were immense, and Quebec at the period of which we write, instead of being a thriving town, had scarcely the appearance of a small village. In the year 1627 it could boast only six private residences. The Récollets were living at their convent, but the Jesuits had not completed their new building. The Récollets had abandoned the Huron mission as their numbers were diminishing every year, and they were too poor to continue their ministrations without assistance. They still held in charge the missions at Quebec and at Tadousac. Father d'Olbeau, who had been present at the opening of the Récollet convent at Quebec, saw its doors closed. He remained, however, at his post, and rendered valuable assistance to Champlain.

The Jesuits made great personal efforts for the advancement of the colony, and Father Noyrot had

sailed for Canada with a number of workmen and a good store of provisions, but unfortunately his vessel did not reach Quebec.

The negligence of Montmorency's company was the principal cause why Quebec was abandoned to its own resources. Champlain was powerless against the ill-will of the company, and the only redress was in the person of the king. Cardinal Richelieu, who was superintendent of the navigation and commerce of France, resolved to reform the remnant of a company founded in 1626, and composed of one hundred associates, for conducting the commerce of the East and West. As the duc de Ventadour had resigned the office of viceroy, the cardinal held a meeting of many rich and zealous persons in his hotel at Paris, whose names would be a guarantee of the success of the colonization of New France, and also of its religious institutions. Among those present were Claude de Roquemont, Sieur de Brison, Louis Houel, Sieur du Petit-Pré, Gabriel de Lattaignant, formerly mayor of Calais, Simon Dablon, syndic of Dieppe, David Duchesne, councillor and alderman of Havre de Grâce, and Jacques Castillon, citizen of Paris.

On April 29th, 1627, the cardinal and these personages signed the act which founded the Company of New France. In the preamble it is mentioned that the colonization in New France shall be Catholic only, as this was regarded as the best means of converting the Indians. The associates pledged

themselves to send two or three hundred men to New France during the year 1628, and to augment this number to four thousand within fifteen years from this date, i.e., by the year 1643. They agreed to lodge, feed and entertain the settlers for a period of three years, and after that date to grant to each family a tract of land sufficiently prepared for cultivation. Three priests were to be maintained at each habitation, at the expense of the company, for a period of fifteen years.

The king granted to the company numerous privileges, the lands of New France, the river St. Lawrence, islands, mines, fisheries, Florida, together with the power of conceding lands in these countries, and the faculty of granting titles, honours, rights and powers, according to the condition, quality, or merit of the people. His Majesty also granted to the company the monopoly of the fur and leather trade from January 1st, 1628, until December 31st, 1643, reserving for the French people in general the cod and whale fisheries. In order to induce his subjects to settle in New France the king announced that during the next fifteen years all goods coming from the French colony should be free of duty.

This act was signed on April 29th, 1627, and the letters patent ratifying the articles were signed on May 6th, 1628. The letters patent also ratified some other provisions made on May 7th, 1627, namely:—(1.) A capital of three hundred thousand livres, in shares of three thousand livres each.

(2.) The society to adopt the name of the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France. (3.) The management of the company to be conducted through twelve directors, with full powers to name officers, to distribute lands, establish factors or clerks, to conduct trade and dispose of the joint-stock.

Of these twelve directors six were obliged to live in Paris. The names of the twelve directors who were elected are here given :—Simon Alix, councillor and king's secretary; Pierre Aubert, councillor and king's secretary; Thomas Bonneau, Sieur du Plessis; Pierre Robineau, treasurer of cavalry; Raoul L'Huillier, merchant of Paris; Barthélemy Quentin, merchant of Paris; Jean Tuffet, merchant of Bordeaux; Gabriel Lattaignant, formerly mayor of Calais; Jean Rozée, merchant of Rouen; Simon Lemaistre, merchant of Rouen; Louis Houel, comptroller of saltworks at Brouage; Bonaventure Quentin, Sieur de Richebourg.

These directors were elected for a term of two years, and six of them had to be replaced at each election. The first term of office expired on December 31st, 1629. The election was held in Paris at the house of the intendant, Jean de Lauzon, king's councillor, master of requests and president of the Grand Council. Cardinal Richelieu and the Duke d'Effiat headed the list of the Hundred Associates. We find also the name of Samuel Champlain, captain of the king's marine, of Isaac de Razilly, chevalier de St. Jean de Jérusalem,

Sébastien Cramoisy, the famous printer; François de Ré, Sieur Gand, and many important merchants of Paris, Rouen, Calais, Dieppe, Bordeaux, Lyons, Bayonne, and Havre de Grâce.

This association was formed under auspicious circumstances; its members possessed wealth and influence, and they were certainly in a position to remove the difficulties which had hindered the growth of New France from its foundation.[1]

While these transactions were in progress Champlain was living at Quebec in want of even the necessaries of life. For the past two years Champlain had established a farm for raising cattle at the foot of Cape Tourmente. Some farm buildings and dwellings for the men were erected there, and Champlain visited the place every summer to see that the work was properly carried on. The Récollets had a chapel there in which they said mass from time to time. In 1628 this establishment was in a flourishing condition, and Champlain believed it

[1] All that relates to the formation of the Company of New France is contained in a series of documents entitled, *Edits, Ordonnances royaux*. The first document is entitled, *Compagnie du Canada, establie sous le titre Nouvelle France, par les articles du vingt-neuf auril et sept May, mil six cens vingt-sept.* We find it in the *Mercure François* (t. xiv., part ii., p. 232) and also in the *Mémoires sur les possessions Françoises en Amérique* (t. iii., pp. 3, 4, and 5). This document is double, the first containing twenty articles, and the second thirty-one, which essentially differ. The act of April 29th, 1627, gives the reasons which had engaged the king to establish a new company, its obligations, and the advantages which it will get from Canada. The act of May 7th is the deed of association, which contains the whole organization of the company, its rules, and all that concerns the administration of its

would ultimately prove of great value to the inhabitants. The colony in the meantime had to rely upon the mother country for provisions, and for flour which could not be produced in Canada.

The new company sent out four vessels in 1628 under the command of Claude de Roquemont, laden with provisions, munitions, and a number of men. This first shipment cost 164,720 livres or about $33,000 of our currency. This large outlay was proof that the associates were determined to maintain the new Canadian settlement. The fleet sailed from Dieppe on May 3rd, and arrived at Percé about the middle of July. During the voyage Roquemont was often exposed to the attacks of the English and Dutch vessels, but he preferred to alter his course rather than to fight. The vessels stopped at the Island of Anticosti, where the crews landed, and planted a cross in token of their gratitude to God, who had protected them.

funds. The validity of the articles of April 29th, 1628, was officially known by an act passed on August 5th, 1628, and the validity of the articles of May 7th took place on August 6th, of the same year. These articles had been confirmed by an order-in-council, on May 6th, 1628, at La Rochelle. On the same day Louis XIII had issued patents confirming the order-in-council. On May 18th Richelieu had ratified the articles of April 29th and of May 7th.

These various documents were published in 1628, one part of them in the *Mercure François*, and the other in a pamphlet, large in quarto of twenty-three pages. The list of the Hundred Associates was also printed in a small pamphlet of eight pages, bearing as title: *Noms, surnoms et Qualitez des Associez En la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, suyvant les jours et dates de leurs signatures.*

Some days afterwards they reached Percé, and a little later entered Gaspé Bay. Roquemont was here informed by the savages that five large English vessels were anchored in Tadousac harbour. It was the fleet of David Kirke,[1] who was going to make an assault on Quebec, after having devastated the Acadian coast. Roquemont at once sent Thierry-Desdames to St. Barnabé Island, where he had intended to go himself. Roquemont left Gaspé on July 15th, 1628, and proceeded up the St. Lawrence, hoping that he would be able to escape his powerful enemies, as the French vessels were not properly armed for a regular fight. Unhappily, on the eighteenth the French came within cannon shot of the British fleet. For a period of fourteen hours the vessels cannonaded each other, and over twelve hundred shots were exchanged. The French having exhausted their stock of balls used the lead of their fishing lines instead. Finally Roquemont perceived

[1] About the year 1596 George Kirke, of Norton, county of Derby, married Elizabeth Goudon, of Dieppe, and had issue five boys and two girls. The eldest boy was named David, the second son was Louis; and the third, Thomas; the fourth, John; and the fifth, James. In the year 1629 David was thirty-two years of age, Louis was thirty, and Thomas twenty-six years of age. These are the three heroes of the Quebec assault.

George Kirke was a member of the Company of Adventurers, and he died on December 17th, 1629. In 1637 David received as a concession the New-found-land. After some difficulties which he had to suffer, David Kirke died in the year 1656. His widow claimed the sum of £60,000 for the part that the Kirkes had taken in bringing about the capitulation of Quebec, but the king paid no attention to these claims, and the Kirke family became poor.

that his vessel was sinking, and asked for terms. It was decided that no penalties should be exacted, and that the English admiral should take possession of the ships. The French crews were taken on board the British vessels, which thereupon set sail for England. The British commander soon realized that he had too many persons on board, and some of the families and the Récollet fathers were put off on the Island of St. Pierre. Among the families were a Parisian named Le Faucher, who with his wife and five children were bound for Quebec, Robert Giffard, surgeon, his wife and three girls, and fifteen or sixteen sailors. Kirke left them on this island with some provisions and a small Basque vessel.

The Basques who were hidden in the mountains came down upon the French after the English were out of sight, and threatened to kill them if they attempted to escape in their vessel. They at last allowed the sailors to go elsewhere in consideration of a certain amount of biscuit and cider. They embarked in a frail shallop, and eventually arrived at Plaisance on the coast of Newfoundland, where some French fishermen conducted them to France. The others ultimately reached Spain with the Basques.

Some writers have blamed Roquemont for trying to avoid a fight. His conduct is pardonable, however, to a certain extent, because his mission was not one of war, but to carry provisions to the colony, and he had armed his vessels only for any

ordinary attack. Others, like Champlain, thought that Roquemont had unnecessarily exposed himself, and blame him for the following reasons:—(1.) The equipment was made out for helping the fort and habitation of Quebec. In facing combat Roquemont not only exposed himself to a loss, but also the whole country, that is to say about one hundred persons who were in distress. (2.) At Gaspé he was made aware that the English admiral had proceeded up the St. Lawrence in command of a fleet much more powerful than his own. He ought, therefore, to have taken the advice of his mariners in order to ascertain whether there was not a safe harbour along the coast which would have made a safe retreat. (3.) After having put his vessels in such a harbour, Roquemont ought to have sent a well equipped shallop to observe every movement of the enemy, and await his departure before going higher up the river. (4.) If Roquemont desired to fight, he ought to have laden the *Flibot* with flour and gunpowder, and placed on board the women and children, and this small ship, which was a fast sailer, could have escaped to Quebec during the fight. Champlain, in setting forth these views, is probably just, for the merit of a captain is not only in his courage, but also in his prudence. Nothing remained of the expedition under Roquemont, which was undertaken with so much courage, and at so much expense. It is certain that if he had been able to reach Quebec with his vessels, David Kirke

would not have risked, in the following year, the capture of the habitation of Quebec.

The king of England had granted letters patent to the Company of Adventurers which authorized them to trade, plant, seize Spanish and French vessels, and to destroy the forts of New France. By a singular coincidence the king of France had established the Company of New France at the same time, and they were thus constituted masters of commerce in Canada and Acadia.

Jarvis Kirke and others had equipped three vessels, to which were appointed David Kirke and his two brothers as captains. They stopped for a time at Miscou, and then entering the gulf and river St. Lawrence, they anchored at Tadousac, as we have already seen, during the first days of July, 1628. The news of Kirke's arrival soon reached Champlain, through an Indian named Napagabiscou, or Tregatin, who came in haste to Cape Tourmente. Foucher, the chief of the farmers, sent word at once to Quebec and appeared there himself not long afterwards to inform Champlain that the establishment had been burnt, his cattle destroyed, and all the inhabitants, save himself, taken prisoners. The prisoners were brought back to Quebec some days after accompanied by six Basques, who delivered to Champlain the following letter:

"MESSIEURS:—I give you notice that I have received a commission from the king of Great Britain, my honoured lord and master, to take possession of

the countries of Canada and Acadia, and for that purpose eighteen ships have been despatched, each taking the route ordered by His Majesty. I have already seized the habitation of Miscou, and all boats and pinnaces on that coast, as well as those of Tadousac, where I am presently at anchor. You are also informed that among the vessels that I have seized, there is one belonging to the new company, commanded by a certain Noyrot, which was coming to you with provisions and goods for the trade. The Sieur de la Tour was also on board, whom I have taken into my ship. I was preparing to seek you, but thought it better to send boats to destroy and seize your cattle at Cape Tourmente; for I know that, when you are straightened for supplies, I shall the more easily obtain my desire, which is, to have your settlement; and in order that no vessels shall reach you, I have resolved to remain here till the end of the season, in order that you may not be re-victualled. Therefore see what you wish to do, if you intend to deliver up the settlement or not, for, God aiding, sooner or later I must have it. I would desire, for your sake, that it should be by courtesy rather than by force, to avoid the blood which might be spilt on both sides. By surrendering courteously, you may be assured of all kinds of contentment, both for your persons and for your property, which on the faith that I have in Paradise, I will preserve as I would my own, without the least portion in the world being diminished.

The Basques whom I send you are men of the vessels that I have captured, and they can tell you the state of affairs between France and England, and even how matters are passing in France, touching the new company of this country. Send me word what you desire to do, and if you wish to treat with me about this affair, send me a person to that effect, whom, I assure you, I will treat with all kinds of attention, and I will grant all reasonable demands that you may desire in resolving to give up the settlement. Waiting your reply, I remain, messieurs, your affectionate servant,

"DAVID QUER.

"On board the *Vicaille*, July 18th, 1628, and addressed to Monsieur Champlain, Commandant at Quebec."

Champlain read that letter to Pont-Gravé and to the chief inhabitants. After mature deliberation, it was resolved that Champlain should answer Kirke with dignity and firmness, but should not give any idea of the poor state of Quebec. "We concluded," says Champlain, "that if Kirke wished to see us he had better come, and not threaten from such a distance. That we did not in the least doubt the fact of Kirke having the commission of his king, as great princes always select men of brave and generous courage."

Champlain acknowledged the intelligence of the capture of Father Noyrot and de la Tour, and also the truth of the observation that the more pro-

visions there were in a fortress the better it could hold out, still it could be maintained with but little, provided good order were kept; therefore, being still furnished with grain, maize, beans and pease, (besides what the country could supply) which his soldiers loved as well as the finest corn in the world, by surrendering the fort in so good a condition, he would be unworthy to appear before his sovereign, and would deserve chastisement before God and men. He was sure that Kirke would respect him much more for defending himself than for abandoning his charge, without first making trial of the English guns and batteries. Champlain concludes by saying that he would expect his attack, and oppose, as well as he could, all attempts that might be made against the place. The noble language of Champlain's letter made a deep impression on Kirke, and he deemed it prudent to start for Europe. Before leaving Tadousac, David Kirke destroyed all the captured French barques, with the exception of the largest, which he took to Europe. Since leaving England he had doubled the number of his vessels, having taken away all that he could from the habitation of Miscou and other seaports frequented by the French.

The news of the departure of the English fleet took some days to reach Quebec, where the minds of the inhabitants were divided between hope and fear. Champlain was determined to await the arrival of the enemy, and to defend Quebec, without con-

sidering its weakness. Every one began to work to construct new intrenchments around the habitation, and to barricade the road which led to the fort. Each was given a post in the event of an attack, and a defence was determined upon. Later on Champlain was informed of Roquemont's fate and of Kirke's departure.

The English were, indeed, well compensated for their abandonment of Quebec, for the seizure of the vessels and their provisions was equivalent to the capture of the French colony, since famine threatened them sooner or later. In attacking Quebec Kirke, indeed, would have met with but little opposition, because every one was suffering. Those who could have lived from the produce of their own lands, were compelled to give assistance to the trade agents. Champlain ordered a distribution of pease to be made to each person indiscriminately. The Récollets refused any assistance, and they passed the whole winter subsisting on corn and vegetables of their own cultivation. Champlain succeeded in building a mill for grinding pease. The eel fisheries were productive, and the Indians sold to the French six eels for a beaver skin. In the midst of these perplexities Champlain realized that unless assistance was forthcoming in the spring, it would be advisable for him to accept an honourable capitulation, and to send all the French who wished to return to their country, either to Gaspé or to Miscou.

As soon as the snow had disappeared in the spring of the year 1629, Champlain caused all the arable land to be sown. By the middle of May his stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and he therefore decided to send Desdames to Gaspé to seek aid for Quebec there from the inhabitants or any French ships he might meet. One month later Desdames returned, and confirmed the news that the English vessels had devastated the Acadian coast, and burnt the habitations. Neither Desdames nor his party had seen any French vessel in the gulf, but they had met Iuan Chou, a friend of Champlain, who had agreed to give hospitality to twenty persons, including Pont-Gravé, by whom he was greatly esteemed. The latter was still suffering from gout, and it was with some reluctance that he agreed to leave his position as first clerk, empowered by Guillaume de Caën to take care of the merchandise. Des Mertes, who was Pont-Gravé's grandson, accepted his position in the interim.

Before leaving Quebec Pont-Gravé desired Champlain to read publicly the commission which he had received from Guillaume de Caën. After grand mass on June 17th Champlain read Pont-Gravé's commission and his own in the presence of all the people, and he added some words, by which it was easily understood that the king's authority had to be superior to Guillaume de Caën's commissions. Pont-Gravé replied at once: "I see that you believe

in the nullity of my commission!" "Yes," replied Champlain, "when it comes in conflict with the king's and the viceroy's authority." This petty dispute had no serious consequence, as it was evident that Pont-Gravé, being only the first clerk of Guillaume de Caën, had no other authority than to take care of the peltry and merchandise belonging to his chief.

Before turning their attention to Canada Guillaume and Emery de Caën had belonged to a large company trading with the East Indies. Both were Calvinists. Sagard writes that Guillaume was polite, liberal, and of good understanding. This testimony seems somewhat exaggerated, as we have many proofs of his niggardliness. His nephew Emery was frank, liberal and open to conviction, and was always kindly disposed towards the Jesuits. Guillaume de Caën was the commodore of the fleet equipped by his associates. His greatest fault appears to have been that he neglected Champlain and the colony, and for that reason he should share the responsibility of not having prevented the capitulation of Quebec. However, it is scarcely fair to say of him that he worked directly against the French in New France. After the capitulation of 1629, Cardinal Richelieu wrote of him to the French ambassador in London: "Please examine his actions. Being a Huguenot, and having been much displeased with the new company of Canada, I have entertained a suspicion that he connived with the English. I have

not a sure knowledge of it, but you will please me if you inform me of his conduct."

This suspicion seems unfounded, because Guillaume de Caën was personally interested in the fate of Quebec. His merchandise which was seized by Kirke was valued at about forty thousand écus. If he had made some agreement with Kirke he would have had no difficulty in recovering his goods after the capitulation, but such was not the case.

As to Emery de Caën we must say that he took an active part in the defence of the colony, and perhaps he might have saved Quebec, had not one of his sailors committed a grave imprudence at a critical juncture. The facts are as follows: The Treaty of Susa, which was signed on April 24th, 1629, had established peace between France and England. Being aware of this fact Emery de Caën equipped a vessel for the purpose of bringing back to France all the furs and merchandise which were the property of his uncle. When he arrived near the Escoumins a dense fog obscured the coast, and his vessel ran aground on Red Island, opposite Tadousac. Having succeeded in floating his ship, de Caën went to Chafaud aux Basques, two leagues above Tadousac. Here he was informed that the Kirke brothers were at Tadousac, and he at once made for Mal Bay, where he was informed that Champlain had capitulated. This news lacked confirmation, and so he sent two emissaries to Quebec, who instead of proceeding directly there, amused

themselves on the shore of the river at Cape Tourmente. They finally arrived at their destination, and were badly received by Guillaume Couillard.

In the meantime Thomas Kirke was sailing down from Quebec to Tadousac, after the capitulation of the stronghold, and meeting de Caën's vessel approached within cannon shot. A fight began, and soon both vessels were stopped by Kirke's order. Previous to this, Champlain and all the French who were on board had been sent below deck, the covers of which had been fastened with large nails, so that they were unable to render any assistance to Emery de Caën, even if they had desired to. The battle continued under some difficulties, and the vessels were grappled only near the bowsprit of Caën's vessel. The combat continued indecisively for some time until Kirke finally secured the victory, in part because of a singular blunder. One of Emery de Caën's sailors having cried "*Quartier! Quartier!*" or Surrender! Kirke hurriedly answered, "*Bon quartier*, and I promise your life safe, and I shall treat you as I did Champlain, whom I bring with me." Hearing these words the French hesitated, ceased firing, and soon perceived Champlain on the deck. Kirke had released him from his temporary jail, threatening him with death if the men of Emery de Caën fired again. Then Champlain said: "It would be easy to kill me, being in your power. But you would not deserve honour for having broken your

word. You have promised to treat me with consideration. I cannot command these people nor prevent them from doing their duty, in defending themselves. You should praise them instead of blaming them." Champlain advised them to surrender on terms. They were wise in doing so, as two English *pataches* soon arrived which would have settled the fight.

Emery de Caën, and Jacques Couillard de l'Espinay, his lieutenant, were taken on to Kirke's vessel, and submitted themselves to the enemy's conditions. De Caën was compelled to abandon his ship, which was full of provisions intended for Quebec. In less than two hours every hope of fur trading had disappeared. De Caën had lost not only his vessel, but also five hundred beaver skins and some merchandise for traffic. The loss was valued at fifty-one thousand francs. Emery de Caën returned to France. He came back to Quebec in the year 1631, with permission from Richelieu to treat with the Indians. But the English commander expressly forbade the trade, and placed guardians on his vessel during the period of trading.

CHAPTER X

THE CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC, 1629

WE have somewhat anticipated events, so we now retrace our steps, and place ourselves within Champlain's defenceless stronghold as its fatal hour approached. On Thursday, July 19th, 1629, a savage named La Nasse by the French, and Manitougatche by his own people, informed the Jesuits that three English ships were in sight off the Island of Orleans, behind Point Lévis, and that six other vessels were anchored at Tadousac. Champlain was already aware that some ships were at Tadousac, but he was surprised to learn that the enemy had approached Quebec, and at first he thought that they might be French ships. There was no one in Fort St. Louis at the time he received this news, as every one had gone out in search of plants which were used as food; he therefore consulted with the Récollet and Jesuit fathers, and others of note as to what measures should be taken. In the meantime the English ships were steadily approaching, and at length drew up at a certain distance from the city. A shallop was then sent out from the admiral's ship, carrying at her mainmast a white flag. Champlain caused a similar flag to be run up over the fort, and Kirke's emis-

sary came ashore and presented to Champlain the following letter:—

"MONSIEUR:—In consequence of what our brother told you last year that sooner or later he would have Quebec, if not succoured, he has charged us to assure you of his friendship as we do of ours; and knowing very well the extreme need of everything in which you are, desires that you shall surrender the fort and the settlement to us, assuring you of every kind of courtesy for you and yours, and also of honourable and reasonable terms, such as you may wish. Waiting your reply, we remain, monsieur, your very affectionate servants,

"LOUIS AND THOMAS QUER.

"On board the *Flibot*, this July 19th, 1629."

Champlain immediately prepared his answer, the terms of which had previously been agreed upon in consultation. Kirke's representative did not understand a word of the French language, but he had a fair knowledge of Latin. Father de la Roche d'Aillon was therefore requested by Champlain to act as interpreter, and he asked the following questions:—"Is war declared between France and England?" "No," replied the English representative. "Why, then, do you come here to trouble us if our princes live in peace?" he was asked.

Champlain then requested Father de la Roche to go aboard the English vessels to ascertain from the chiefs what they intended to do. The interview between Father de la Roche and Louis Kirke was

courteous, but the answers of the latter were far from being satisfactory. "If Champlain," said the English captain, "gives up the keys of the fortress and of the habitation we promise to convey you all to France, and will treat you well; if not we will oblige him by force." Father de la Roche tried to obtain fifteen days' delay, or even eight days, but it was of no avail.

"Sir," said Louis Kirke, "I well know your miserable condition. Your people have gone out to pick up roots in order to avoid starvation, for we have captured Master Boullé and some other Frenchmen whom we have retained as prisoners at Tadousac, and from whom we have ascertained the condition of the inhabitants of Quebec."

"Give us a delay of eight days," said Father de la Roche. "No," replied Thomas Kirke, "I shall at once ruin the fort with my cannon." "I desire to sleep to-night in the fort," added his brother Louis, "and, if not, I shall devastate the whole country." "Proceed slowly," said Father de la Roche, "for you are deceived if you believe you will easily gain the fort. There are a hundred men there well armed and ready to sell their lives dearly. Perchance you will find your death in this enterprise, for I assure you that the inhabitants are determined to fight, and they derive courage from the conviction that your invasion is unjust, and that their lives and property are at stake. Once more I warn you that an attack might prove dangerous to you."

Captain Louis Kirke seemed a little disheartened on hearing this firm and vigorous language. After having consulted the chief officers of his fleet he asked Father de la Roche to attend a council of war at which an ultimatum was presented in these words:—"Champlain must surrender at once, but he shall have the privilege of dictating the terms of capitulation." Three hours were granted within which his reply was to be given. The Récollets were promised protection, but no conditions were accorded to the Jesuits, as it was the admiral's intention to visit their convent, which he believed to contain a quantity of beaver skins.

Father de la Roche returned to Fort St. Louis, and gave an account of his interview. It was plainly evident that it would be useless to rely upon delays in the face of an enemy determined to see the end of the affair. Food was almost exhausted, and it was calculated that there were not more than ten pounds of flour in Quebec, and not more than fifty pounds of gunpowder, which was of inferior quality. Opposition would have been not only useless, but ridiculous. Champlain realized this, and at once resolved to surrender.

Champlain drew up the following articles of capitulation, which were forwarded to the Kirke brothers:—

"That Quer (Kirke) should produce his commission from the king of England to prove that war actually existed between England and France; and

also to show his power from his brother, who commanded the fleet, to treat with Champlain.

"That a vessel should be provided to convey Champlain, his companions, the missionaries, both Jesuits and Récollets, the two Indian girls that had been given to him two years before, and all other persons, to France.

"That the religious and other people should be allowed to leave with arms and baggage, and all their furniture, and that a sufficient supply of provisions for the passage to France should be granted in exchange for peltry, etc.

"That all should have the most favourable treatment possible, without violence to any.

"That the ship in which they were to embark for France should be ready in three days after their arrival at Tadousac, and a vessel provided for the transport of their goods, etc., to that place."

These articles were signed by Champlain and Pont-Gravé. After having read them Louis Kirke sent this answer: "That Kirke's commission should be shown and his powers to his brothers for trading purposes. As to providing a vessel to take Champlain and his people direct to France, that could not be done, but they would give them passage to England, and from there to France, whereby they would avoid being again taken by any English cruiser on their route. For the Indian girls, that clause could not be granted, for reasons which would be explained. As to leaving with arms and

baggage, the officers might take with them their arms, clothes, and peltries belonging to them, and the soldiers might have their clothes and a beaver robe each. As for the holy fathers, they must be contented with their robes and books.

"L. KIRKE.

"THOMAS KIRKE.

"The said articles granted to Champlain and Du Pont, I accept and ratify them, and I promise that they shall be executed from point to point. Done at Tadousac, August 19th (new style), 1629.

"DAVID KIRKE."

The clause forbidding the soldiers to take their arms, coats and peltry, excepting a castor robe, was a severe trial to them, as many of them had bought skins from the Hurons to the extent of seven to eight hundred francs, and preferred to fight rather than lose their fortune.

Champlain had agreed to capitulate without firing. Some openly reproached Champlain, saying that it was not the fear of death that actuated his course. but rather the loss of the thousand livres, which the English had agreed to give him if he abandoned Quebec without striking a blow.

Champlain was informed of all the murmurs and discontent which were expressed amongst his people by a young Greek, who was charged to inform him that they did not wish to surrender, and even if they lost their fort, they desired to prove to the English that they were full of courage. Champlain

was annoyed at these exhibitions of insubordination, and he instructed the Greek to give the people this answer:—"You are badly advised and unwise. How can you desire resistance when we have no provisions, no ammunition, or any prospect of relief? Are you tired of living, or do you expect to be victorious under such circumstances? Obey those who desire your safety and who do nothing without prudence."

Brother Sagard makes these remarks upon the condition of affairs:—"It is true that there was a great scarcity of all things necessary for the habitation, but the enemy, too, were weak, as Father Joseph perceived after having examined the whole crew, which consisted of about two hundred soldiers, for the most part, men who had never touched a musket, and who could have been killed as ducks or who would have run away. Moreover they were in a wretched condition, and of a low order. The weather was favourable to the French, as the tide was low, and there was a strong south-west wind, which drove the enemy ships in the direction of France, so that there was no assurance for either the vessels or the barques. Champlain, however, deemed it more expedient to surrender than to run the risk of losing lives or of being made prisoner while defending a fort so badly armed."

If, as the veracious Brother Sagard says, the fort and the habitation were in such straits, it is not proved that the English could be easily defeated.

There were at Quebec only fifty men capable of bearing arms, and only a small quantity of gunpowder in store, while provisions were absolutely wanting. How was it possible to sustain a siege without ammunition, without bread and without soldiers?

On the enemy's side there were three vessels, one well equipped, and nearly two hundred men. If the men were desperate or wretched, they would be the more dangerous. Even supposing that the two vessels had proved insufficient for a protracted siege, the four vessels at the disposal of David Kirke would have surely come to their assistance.

It would have been a foolish act to have resisted such a powerful enemy. Besides, Champlain had another foe to contend against, for Nicholas Marsolet, Étienne Brûlé, Pierre Reye, and others, had betrayed him, and were leagued with Kirke. Champlain understood the difficulties of his position, and his responsibilities, for he had in his hands the lives of all those at Quebec.

Of the eighty persons living in Quebec at this time, two-thirds had only private interests to safeguard, and it was a matter of indifference to them whether they remained in Canada or whether they returned to France. The families who had nothing to gain by leaving Quebec were those who deserved the governor's sympathy, and it was for their safety that Champlain would not agree to offer resistance as the result must have proved disas-

trous to them. By the articles of capitulation these families would be able to live quietly at home, awaiting the issue of affairs from Europe.

On the day following the preliminaries, Champlain went on board Louis Kirke's vessel, where he was to see the commission from David Kirke, empowering the Kirke brothers to take Quebec and the whole country by assault. Both parties then signed the articles of capitulation, and the English troops, conducted by Champlain, came in shallops near to the habitation. The keys were delivered to Louis Kirke, and then they all proceeded to the fort, which was delivered to the captain. Quebec was definitely put under the authority of the English, who had not fired a single shot. Louis Kirke placed Le Baillif, who had been dismissed by Guillaume de Caën for his bad conduct, in charge of the storehouse. This was the first reward for his treason. Champlain asked the English commander to protect the chapel of Quebec, the convents, and the houses of the widow of Louis Hébert and of her son-in-law, Guillaume Couillard, and he offered him the keys of his own room within the fort. Louis Kirke refused to accept the latter, and left Champlain in possession of his room. This courteous action was followed by another one, for Kirke delivered to Champlain a certificate of all that he had found within the fort and the habitation. This document was found useful later on, when it was necessary to settle the value of the goods.

In the meantime the English crew robbed the convent of the Jesuits, but they did not find the beaver skins, as they expected. Kirke and the Lutheran minister took for their own use some of the choicest volumes of the library, and three or four pictures. The Récollets had filled a leather bag with the ornaments of their church, and had hidden it under ground, far in the woods, thinking that they might return sooner or later.

On the Sunday following the capitulation, July 22nd, Louis Kirke hoisted the English flag over one of the bastions of the fort, and in order to render the official possession of Quebec more imposing, he placed his soldiers in ranks along the ramparts, and at a precise hour a volley was fired from English muskets. Two day later, Champlain, with some companions, took passage on the *Flibot* for Tadousac, leaving behind the families of Couillard, Martin, Desportes, Hébert, Hubou, Pivert, Duchesne the surgeon, some interpreters and clerks, and Pont-Gravé, who was too sick to leave his room. It was understood that all those who desired to return to France should start on the day fixed by Kirke.

The fate of the colony was thus decided. Those who had any authority, by reason of their work or their official position, were compelled to leave. The others were at liberty to remain, especially the interpreters, who would be useful in trading with the Indians. Before Champlain's departure,

some had asked his advice. Should they remain in Quebec under a new régime, with little to hope for? Who was this victorious Kirke, so captivating in appearance? Perhaps a lion clothed with the skin of a lamb! They knew the Kirke brothers had been guilty of burning the habitation at Cape Tourmente. Knowing that they were Protestants, they could not expect sympathy on the score of religion. A danger existed from every point of view. Nevertheless, Champlain advised many of them to remain at Quebec in order to save their property. The only objection was that they would be obliged to remain for an indefinite time without the ministrations of their priests.

Three years were to elapse before a French vessel again appeared at Quebec, with authority to hoist the white flag of France. Champlain's advice was not prejudicial to any one, at least not in temporal matters. This small nucleus became the great tree whose branches and leaves extend to-day over the whole American continent. If France had seen the complete depopulation of Canada, perhaps the king would not have made the same efforts to have his colony restored. Champlain himself, in spite of his great zeal and his love for the country which he had founded had been discouraged by the difficulties. He could foresee better than any other the obstacles which the future would present and it caused him much uneasiness, and offered little consolation. At

his age most men would have preferred to rest after an agitated life of thirty years, in the pursuit of an idea which it seemed impossible to realize on account of the manifold difficulties by which it was constantly beset.

CHAPTER XI

THE LAST EVENTS OF 1629

"SINCE the English have taken possession of Quebec," writes Champlain, "the days have seemed to me as long as months." This dreariness is easily explained. The unsettled state of affairs, of which he was an eye-witness, had rendered his life at Quebec intolerable. Louis Kirke, however, treated him with respect and courtesy, and had given him permission to bring to Tadousac his two adopted girls, Espérance and Charité. It was a favour wholly unexpected, especially as by one of the clauses of the act of capitulation he was denied passage for them. Champlain, however, was ready to buy their liberty, if necessary, as he wished to civilize them and convert them to Christianity. Having no desire to stay longer in a place where even the beauties of the sunset seemed to remind him of his humiliation, Champlain only resided temporarily at Tadousac, and was anxious to reach France. He had left Quebec on July 24th, and on the following day he perceived a vessel sailing near Murray Bay. This was Emery de Caën's ship, which, as we have already stated, was proceeding to Quebec to claim the peltry in the storehouse which belonged to his uncle. This vessel, as has been described, was captured by Kirke.

A certain Captain Daniel likewise failed to relieve Quebec. He had crossed the ocean from Dieppe with four vessels and a barque laden with provisions and ammunition. Having heard on the passage that a Scottish lord named James Stuart, had erected a fort on Cape Breton, in a place called Port-aux-Baleines, to protect his countrymen during the fishing season, Daniel went out of his way to destroy this fort, and to build one at Grand Cibou to check the intruders, instead of preceeding directly to Quebec, as was his duty. He left at this place forty men and two Jesuits, Father Vimont and Father de Vieux-Pont, and then, having set up the arms of France, he returned to his country without having done anything for the Quebec habitation. This was his first fault, but nevertheless it was a great misfortune for Quebec.

The Jesuits had prepared at a great expense a shipment for Quebec. Father Noyrot brought with him Father Charles Lalement, who was returning after an absence of nearly two years, Father de Vieux-Pont, Brother Louis Malot and twenty-four persons. Driven by a terrible storm, their barque was wrecked near the Island of Canseau. Fourteen were drowned, including Father Noyrot and Brother Malot. The others miraculously escaped.

The Chevalier de Razilly was finally ordered to assist Quebec, but when it was found that peace had been concluded between France and England

on April 24th, Razilly had his commission cancelled and proceeded to Morocco.

The failure of these three expeditions, together with that of Emery de Caën, occurring at the same time under unfortunate circumstances, resulted in the loss of the colony for France, and won at least temporary prestige and importance for the Kirke family.

Champlain relates some remarkable events during his sojourn at Tadousac. Religious fanaticism displayed itself in its worst form. The French had with them Father de Brébeuf, who was quite competent and willing to champion the cause of the Catholic faith and especially when assailed by his own countrymen. A French Huguenot, named Jacques Michel, apparently headed a crusade against the Jesuits. One day Kirke said to a party that the Jesuits had come to Canada to annoy the Sieurs de Caën in their trade. "I beg your pardon," replied the father, "we had no other design in coming here than the glory of God and the conversion of the savages." To which Jacques Michel retorted, still more audaciously: "Yes, convert the savages, say rather, convert the beavers." "It is false," replied the priest, somewhat vexed. Michel, who was angry, raised his arm to strike the father, at the same time saying: "If I were not restrained by the respect due to my chief, I would slap your face for your denial." "I ask your pardon,' said the father, "it was not in my mind to injure you, and if my

answer has vexed you, I regret it." Michel was not satisfied and began to blaspheme, so that Champlain was scandalized, and said: "You swear much for a Reformer." "It is true," replied the Huguenot, "but I am furious against this Jesuit for his denial, and if I hang to-morrow I will give him the blows he deserves." During the day, however, Michel drank heavily and was attacked by apoplexy, from which he died thirty-five hours later, without exhibiting any signs of repentance.

The commander Kirke "wished," says Champlain, "to show a last proof of his friendship. So instead of having Michel quietly buried, he ordered a splendid funeral, accompanied with military honours. When the remains were lowered into the grave, a salute of eighty guns was fired, as if the deceased had been an officer of high rank. Whatever may have been the reasons for showing these tokens of honour to the remains of Michel, the savages seem to have resented the proceedings, for they later unearthed his body and gave it to the dogs. Michel had been a traitor to his country and to his God, and this was the method of his punishment.

We have already mentioned the names of the Frenchmen who betrayed Champlain, particularly Étienne Brûlé, Le Baillif, Pierre Reye and Marsolet. Let us examine their conduct. Étienne Brûlé, in his capacity of interpreter, had rendered many good services to his compatriots. Unfortunately, his private actions while dwelling with the Hurons

were not above reproach, and he would certainly have been compelled to expiate his offences had he not been adopted as one of their family. Brûlé worked for the benefit of the Hurons, and their gratitude towards a good officer perhaps outweighed their memory of an injury. On retiring from the Huron country in 1629, Brûlé went to Tadousac, where he entered the service of Kirke, and some years after he was killed by a savage.

Marsolet's case is nearly identical with that of Brûlé, although it is not proved that he was as licentious during the time that he lived with the Algonquins. He and Brûlé asserted that they were compelled by Kirke to serve under the British flag. Champlain severely blamed their conduct, saying: "Remember that God will punish you if you do not amend your lives. You have lost your honour. Wherever you will go, men will point at you, saying: 'These are the men who have threatened their king and sold their country.' It would be preferable to die than to live on in this manner, as you will suffer the remorse of a bad conscience." To this they replied: "We well know that in France we should be hanged. We are sorry for what has happened, but it is done and we must drain the cup to the bottom, and resolve never to return to France." Champlain answered them: "If you are captured anywhere, you will run the risk of being chastised as you deserve."

Nicholas Marsolet became a good citizen, and his

family alliances were the most honourable. Pierre Reye, a carriage maker, was a bad character, "One of the worst traitors, and wicked." His treason did not surprise any one, and nothing better was expected of him. Le Baillif was not only vicious, but a thief. On the night after the seizure by Kirke of the goods in store, he took from the room of Corneille de Vendremur, a clerk, one hundred livres in gold and money, a silver cup and some silk stockings. He was suspected of having stolen from the chapel of the Lower Town, a silver chalice, the gift of Anne of Austria. Though he was a Catholic, Le Baillif ate food on days of abstinence, in order to please the Protestants. He treated the French as if they were dogs. "I shall abandon him," says Champlain, "to his fate, awaiting the day of his punishment for his swearings, cursings and impieties."

The treachery of these four men greatly affected Champlain, who was at a loss to understand how those to whom he had given food and shelter could be so ungrateful; but their conduct, however reprehensible, played no part in the loss of the colony. Kirke employed them to further his purposes without giving them any substantial reward.

The sojourn of the French in Tadousac lasted many weeks, and the delay caused Champlain much annoyance. David Kirke spent ten or twelve days on his visit to Quebec, where he wanted to see for himself how his brother Louis had disposed of

everything, and what advantage he was likely to gain from the acquisition of the new country. Believing himself to be the supreme ruler and master of New France, he outlined a brilliant future for the colony, looking forward to the day when he could bring settlers to take advantage of its natural resources.

Returning to Tadousac, the general invited his captains to a dinner, at which Champlain was also a guest. The dinner was served in a tent surrounded with branches. Towards the end of the banquet David Kirke gave Champlain a letter from Marsolet to inform him that the chief savages, gathered at Three Rivers in council, had resolved to keep with them the two girls, Espérance and Charité. This was a severe trial to Champlain, who had hoped to be able to take them to France. All his efforts, however, were useless, as there was a plot organized by the traitor Marsolet. These children loved Champlain as a father, and were inconsolable when they realized that their departure for France was impossible.

Champlain relates many things that do not redound to Kirke's credit, amongst other things that Kirke blamed his brother Louis for giving the Jesuits permission to say mass, and afterwards refused the permission. Again, at the moment when the Jesuits embarked for Tadousac, Louis Kirke ordered a trunk to be opened in which the sacred vessels were contained. Seeing a box which contained a chalice Kirke

tried to seize it, but Father Massé interfered, and said to him: "This is a sacred object, do not profane it, if you please." "Why," said Kirke, "we have no faith in your superstition," and so saying he took the chalice in his hands, braving the Jesuit's advice. The Catholics were also denied the privilege of praying in public. This intolerant action was condemned by Champlain. During their stay at Tadousac Champlain and the admiral went out shooting. They killed more than two thousand larks, plovers, snipes and curlews. In the meantime the sailors had cut trees for masts, and some birch which they took to England. They also carried with them four thousand five hundred and forty beaver skins, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen others seized at Quebec, and four hundred and thirty-two elk skins. The French had not given up all their skins; some had hidden a good many, and others kept them with Kirke's consent. The Récollets and the Jesuits were returning poorer than when they came. Champlain alone was allowed to retain all his baggage. At the commencement of September the admiral fitted out a medium sized barque with provisions for Quebec, with instructions to bring back the Récollets who were scattered throughout the country, and also some of the French who had intended to remain at Quebec and other places.

On September 14th the English fleet set out carrying Champlain, the Jesuits, the Récollets, and two-thirds of the French, that is to say, nearly the

whole of the colony. The passage was short though difficult, and eleven of the crew died from dysentery. On October 20th the vessels reached Plymouth where Kirke was much disappointed to learn that the treaty of peace signed on April 24th had been confirmed on September 16th. All the French, except Champlain, took passage for France at Dover. Champlain proceeded directly to London, where he met the French ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf, and related to him the events which had taken place in Canada, and urged him to take steps for its restoration to France.

The fathers disembarked at Calais at the end of October. Father Massé returned to his former position of minister at the college of La Flèche. Father Anne de Noüe went to Bourges. Father de Brébeuf entered the college of Rouen, where he had laboured previously, and three other Jesuits whom we find afterwards in Canada, Father Charles Lalemant, Father Jogues and Father Simon Lemoyne, were at that time professors in this college. Father Massé and Father de Brébeuf were soon to resume their ministration in this country, which they were forced to abandon at a time when they had hoped to see the realization of their noble mission. L'Abbé Faillon has written that the family of Hébert alone remained at Quebec after the surrender, but this seems uncertain. It may be that other families remained in Quebec. It was God's will that the most prominent and influential men

should leave for France, but He also ordained that a few heroic settlers or possessors of New France should remain. If their remaining was favourable to France Champlain deserves the credit, for he did more that any of his countrymen to bring it about. The population of Quebec or of the whole colony in July, 1629, was divided as follows:—Inhabitants, twenty-three; interpreters, eleven; clerks, fourteen; missionaries, ten; domestics, seven; French, arrived from the Huron country, twenty. This makes a total number of eighty-five persons.

The following probably remained at Quebec:—Guillaume Hubou and his wife, Marie Rollet, widow of Louis Hébert; Guillaume Hébert; Guillaume Couillard, and his wife Guillemette Hébert, and their three children; Abraham Martin, and his wife, Marguerite Langlois, and their three children; Pierre Desportes, and his wife, Françoise Langlois, and their daughter Hélène; Nicholas Pivert, his wife, Marguerite Lesage, and their niece; Adrien Duchesne and his wife; Jean Foucher, Étienne Brûlé, Nicholas Marsolet, Le Baillif, Pierre Reye, Olivier Le Tardif. The missionaries who returned to France were: Three Jesuits, two Récollets, two Brothers Jesuits and three Brothers Récollets, ten in all. Their names were Fathers Jesuits Enemond Massé, Anne de Noüe and Jean de Brébeuf; Fathers Récollets Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, and Joseph Le Caron; Brothers Jesuits François Charton and Gilbert Burel; and the Récollet Friars Gervais

Mohier, Jean Gaufestre and Pierre Langoissieux. Among the clerks who returned home were Corneille de Vendremur, Thierry-Desdames, Eustache Boullé, and Destouches

Since the year 1608 there had been only seven births, three marriages, and forty deaths. One man had been hanged, six had been murdered, and three drowned. A Récollet father, called Nicholas Viel, had perished in the Sault au Récollet; and there had been sixteen victims of the scurvy.

CHAPTER XII

QUEBEC RESTORED

THROUGH the exertions of Champlain negotiations were soon entered into for the purpose of restoring the colony of New France to the French. Champlain had visited the French ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf, when in London, and had laid before him a statement of the events which had recently taken place, together with the treaty of capitulation and a map of New France, so far as it was explored. According to Champlain, the country comprised all the lands which Linschot thus describes: "This part of America which extends to the Arctic pole northward, is called New France, because Jean Verrazano, a Florentine, having been sent by King François I to these quarters, discovered nearly all the coast, beginning from the Tropic of Cancer to the fiftieth degree, and still more northerly, arboring arms and flags of France; for that reason the said country is called New France."

Champlain was not quarrelling with the English for Virginia, although this country had been sailed along by the French eighty years before, and they had also discovered the American coast, from the river St. John to the peninsula of Florida.

No one can deny that Champlain had given names to the rivers and harbours of New England as far as Cape Cod, about the fortieth degree of latitude.

After having spent about five weeks with the ambassador in furnishing him with information to guide him in his negotiations with the English authorities, Champlain resolved to visit France, as he had a reasonable hope of seeing his designs accomplished. He left London on November 30th, and embarked at Rye, in Sussex, for Dieppe. Here he met Captain Daniel, who had just returned from his expedition to Canada, and it was here also that he received his commission as governor of New France, which had been forwarded by the directors of the Company of New France.

Champlain paid a visit to Rouen, and then went to Paris, where he had interviews with the king, with the cardinal, and some of the associates of the company. A prominent topic of discussion was, naturally, the loss of New France, and the best means of recovering it. Champlain bent all his energies to secure this end and to gain the support of all those interested in the fate of New France.

Events progressed favourably, and Champlain was pleased to learn that Doctor Daniel had been sent to London with letters for King Charles I. Louis XIII demanded the restoration of the fort and habitation of Quebec, and the forts and harbours of the Acadian coast, for the reason that they had been captured after peace had been con-

cluded between the two countries. Doctor Daniel returned to France, bearing despatches by which Charles I answered that he was ready to restore Quebec, but no mention was made of Acadia. The directors of the company immediately ordered Commander de Razilly to equip a fleet, and to take possession of Quebec by force or otherwise.

The Hundred Associates subscribed sixteen thousand livres for the freighting of the vessels, and the king granted the balance of the expenses. The news of these extraordinary war-like preparations caused alarm in London, but the French ambassador stated that these vessels were being sent as escort to the traders, not to trouble the English settlers who had taken possession of the French habitations. This explanation relieved the public mind in England, and Charles I promised to give back to France its ancient possessions in America, as they were on April 24th, 1629, the date of the signing of the Treaty of Susa. In justice to England it may be said that two English vessels were seized by the French at about the same time that Kirke had forced Champlain to surrender. There was, therefore, illegal action on both sides, and both countries had claims to be regulated.

The English would have preferred to have retained possession of Canada, at least until the following year, as the Kirke brothers and their associates hoped to be able to realize considerable sums from

their trade with the Indians. This condition of affairs is explained in a letter addressed by Cardinal Richelieu to Chateauneuf, on December 20th, 1629: "They assure us that they cannot restore Canada at once; this is the reason for our delay in restoring these vessels." And he adds: "If they agree to the restitution of Quebec without any condition, you shall accept it; if not, it is better to put a delay to the settlement."

It is obvious that Charles I had twice promised to restore Quebec, and when Chateauneuf retired from his position of ambassador in the month of April, 1630, he had obtained "every assurance of restitution of all things taken since the peace." The Marquis of Fontenay-Mareuil, who succeeded Chateauneuf on March 13th, received special instructions from the cardinal on this subject: "His Majesty's design is that, continuing the negotiations of Chateauneuf, you continue to ask for the restitution of Canada, and of all goods and vessels taken from the French since the peace."

The new ambassador could not urge the claims of France with greater activity than his predecessor. During the space of two months, Chateauneuf had prepared five documents relating to Canadian affairs to which the commissioners appointed to settle the matter had replied on February 11th. These officials were Sir Humphrey May, Sir John Coke, Sir Julius Cæsar, and Sir Henry Martin. Their conclusion regarding Canada was that His

Majesty had not changed his mind concerning the restoration of places, vessels and goods taken from the French, according to the first declaration he had made through a memorandum in Latin, communicated some time since to the French ambassador.

Louis XIII was at this time engaged in war with Austria, and Richelieu was too busy to attend to Canadian matters, which were of less importance than the European questions which occupied his time. Interior dissensions were soon added to the trouble which France had to undergo. Gaston, the king's brother, was compromised, and the Duke of Montmorency, who took part in a plot against the king, was seized and put to death.

The negotiations commenced in 1629 were not resumed until 1632. In the meantime the English authorities had not been idle. Charles I had not forgotten his promise, and even if he had, there were men in France who had a good memory. On June 12th, 1631, Charles I addressed a long letter to Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador to France, respecting the restitution of Quebec and Acadia. A paragraph summarises the English claims as follows:

"That which we require, is the payment of the remainder of the marriage dowry, the restitution of certain ships taken and kept without any colour or pretence, and the withdrawal of arrests and seizures which were made in that kingdom against our subjects contrary to treaty, being of right and due. And that which is demanded of us concerning

the places in Canada and those parts, and some few ships of that nation (French) which remain yet unrestored, but have had sentence of confiscation passed upon them in our high Court of Admiralty upon good grounds in justice, these are things of courtesy and good will.

According to her marriage settlement the Queen Henrietta possessed a dowry of eight hundred thousand crowns, equivalent to eight hundred thousand crowns of three livres, French currency. The half of that sum had been made payable on the day before the marriage in London and the other half a year later. The marriage took place on June 13th, 1625, and the first instalment was then paid. In the year 1631 the second instalment had not been paid, and Charles I claimed it as one of the conditions of settlement.

Some historians have stated that the king took this opportunity to have a money question solved. If, however, the debt was legitimate, France was obliged to pay it, and the difficulties that had occurred in the meantime had nothing to do with the deed of marriage upon which the claim was based. Chateauneuf had promised to pay the claim. Unless, therefore, there was any doubt as to the right of the king to claim the sum, it is difficult to understand why the king should be blamed.

In his letter to his ambassador at Paris Charles I alludes to documents exchanged between Chateauneuf and Fontenay-Mareuil on the one side, and the

lords commissioners appointed to give a ruling. In this document it is noticed that Guillaume de Caën had discussed with Kirke the value of the goods and peltry that had been taken out of the stores at Quebec. They disagreed both as to the number and value. De Caën claimed four thousand two hundred and sixty-six beaver skins which had been captured by Kirke, while Kirke declared he had found only one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, and that the balance of his cargo, four thousand skins, was the result of trade with the Indians.

According to the books of the English company, Kirke had bought four thousand five hundred and forty beaver skins, four hundred and thirty-two elk skins, and had found in the stores one thousand seven hundred and thirteen beaver skins. The difference in the calculation is due to the fact that the English only mentioned the beaver skins registered in their books, and the French included all the skins which belonged to them when the fort surrendered, making no mention of those that they hid or took out of the fort with the permission of the English. Guillaume de Caën valued each skin at thirty-seven shillings and sixpence, and Burlamachi had written from Metz to representatives of the English company, that he had been compelled to accept de Caën's estimates, as under the terms of a decision of the Privy Council, he was bound to make them good. The king had promised to reimburse de Caën for his losses by payment of fourteen

thousand three hundred and thirty pounds, of which eight thousand two hundred and seventy pounds were for his peltry and goods, and six thousand and sixty pounds for the vessels which had been captured. David Kirke strongly opposed the payment of this sum on the ground that it was excessive, but the king through his councillors ordered the payment to be made.

Having determined to seize the peltry brought to London from Quebec, the Kirke associates blew off the padlock which had been fixed to the store-house door by an order of justice. Some time after, when Guillaume de Caën visited the store, accompanied by a member of the company and a constable, he discovered that only three hundred beaver skins and four hundred elk skins remained. Complaint was lodged with the king, who ordered Kirke to return the skins which were missing within three days, on pain of imprisonment or the confiscation of his property. None of the associates of Kirke appear to have obtained the sympathy of the public in that affair.

The English company had suffered a great loss over the transaction, and the king thought that it would be just to grant them some compensation. He therefore appointed two commissioners, Sir Isaac Wake and Burlamachi, to look after the interests of the English company. Their mission was to make an agreement with Guillaume de Caën, who represented the French company. After the exchange of

a long correspondence, the king of France agreed to pay to David Kirke the sum of twenty thousand pounds, on the condition that he should restore the fort of Quebec, the contents of the storehouse, the vessel belonging to Emery de Caën, and the peltry seized in Canada.

David Kirke was much dissatisfied with the agreement, which he believed was due to the action of Sir Isaac Wake, to whom he wrote, accusing him of not having followed the instructions of the English company. His letter concluded with these words: "I understand that the conduct of this affair has been absolutely irregular, as it is evident that you have only resorted to the French testimony, having no care for the English evidence."

In the same memorandum the Kirke family complained of the fact that the Company of English Adventurers had been compelled to plead in France, while the French were not subject to the same conditions. This accusation was not correct, as Guillaume de Caën had been obliged not only to live in London in order to vindicate his goods, but also to watch them and prevent damage.

Kirke had no other claim than compensation for losses, and de Caën, who had apparently no responsibility for the conflict of 1629, could not reasonably be expected to pay the amount of Kirke's claim. The contents of the storehouse at Quebec were the property of the de Caëns, and in visiting Quebec Emery de Caën had no other object in view than to

secure his goods and take them to France. He had nothing to do with the war, and believed that he was sailing in times of peace. Thomas Kirke, by whom he was taken prisoner, treated him as a pirate, illegally, and in spite of the Treaty of Susa. It is true that the Kirkes were ignorant of this treaty when they sailed for America, but this was only an excuse for their attitude as belligerents.

As soon as the provisions of the negotiations were determined upon between the two countries, the claims had to be sent to the king, if the Kirkes considered that they had any grievance under the privileges conferred upon them by letters of marque. The royal commission took a correct stand in demanding from them in the name of Charles I an indemnity for France. All these differences were at length terminated through the energetic interference of Richelieu. These disputes had lasted for more than two years, and constantly occupied the attention of the ambassadors. The king of France, therefore, empowered Bullion and Bouthillier on January 25th, 1632, to act. Charles I had already sent Burlamachi to France with letters in favour of the restoration of Canada and Acadia, and had also given instructions to Sir Isaac Wake, his ambassador extraordinary. On March 5th, Louis XIII granted an audience to the ambassadors, and the basis of a treaty was agreed upon. Sir Isaac Wake represented Charles I, and Bullion and Bouthillier represented the king of France.

The commissioners took up the question of seizures, which was the most difficult. The king of France agreed to pay the sum of sixty-four thousand two hundred and forty-six pounds to Lumagne and Vanelly for the goods seized on the *Jacques*, and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-six pounds for the goods seized on the *Bénédiction*, and to restore these two vessels to their owners within fifteen days. This agreement included the effects taken from the *Bride*, and sold at Calais, the property of Lumagne and Vanelly. The king of England promised to render and restore all the places occupied by the subjects of His Majesty of Great Britain in New France, Canada and Acadia, and to enjoin all those who commanded at Port Royal, at the fort of Quebec and at Cape Breton, to put these places in the hands of those whom it should please His Majesty, eight days after notice given to the officers named by the king of France.

Under this agreement, de Caën was obliged to pay for the equipment of a vessel of two hundred to two hundred and fifty tons, for the repatriation of the English subjects established in New France. The forts and places occupied by the English were to be restored as they were before their capture, with all arms and ammunition, according to the detailed list which Champlain had given. Burlamachi was authorized to pay for everything that was missing, and also to place Emery de Caën in possession of the ship *Hélène*, which had been

taken from him, together with all goods abandoned at Quebec during his voyage of 1631. Burlamachi was also instructed to pay to Guillaume de Caën the sum of eighty-two thousand seven hundred livres within two months. The sum of sixty thousand six hundred and two livres tournois was also to be paid by Burlamachi to whomever it might belong, for the vessels *Gabriel* of St. Gilles, *Sainte-Anne*, of Havre de Grâce, *Trinité*, of Sables d'Olonne, *St. Laurent*, of St. Malo, and *Cap du Ciel*, of Calais, seized by the English after the signing of the Treaty of Susa.

After this was agreed to, the commissioners embodied in eight articles the conditions of trade between the two countries. The whole was signed by Wake, Bullion and Bouthillier, at St. Germain-en-Laye, on March 29th, 1632.

Thus terminated this quarrel between England and France, but it was only the precursor of a far more serious conflict which was to arise. From time to time, however, these differences were adjusted temporarily by treaties, only to lead to further complications. The principal difficulty arose regarding the boundaries of New France, the limits of which were not clearly defined in the treaty. Some adjacent parts were claimed by the English as their territory. The king of France had granted to the Hundred Associates "in all property, justice and seigniory, the fort and habitation of Quebec, together with the country of New France, or

Canada, along the coasts . . . coasting along the sea to the Arctic circle for latitude, and from the Island of Newfoundland for longitude, going to the west to the great lake called Mer Douce (Lake Huron), and farther within the lands and along the rivers which passed through them and emptied in the river called St. Lawrence, otherwise the great river of Canada, etc."

Quebec was considered as the centre of these immense possessions of the king of France, which included the islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and St. John (Prince Edward).

The king of England had granted to Sir Thomas Gates and others, in 1606, three years after the date of de Monts' letters patent, "this part of America commonly called Virginia, and the territories between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, and the islands situated within a space of one hundred miles from the coasts of the said countries."

In the year 1621, James I granted to Sir William Alexander, of Stirling, certain territory, which under the name of Nova Scotia was intended to comprise the present provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and the whole of Gaspesia. Charles I granted to Sir William Alexander in the year 1625 another charter, which ratified the one of 1621.

It is evident that the king of England and the king of France had each given charters covering

about the same extent of territory, and it is therefore easy to understand that tedious correspondence of a complicated nature thereby arose between the two countries. The treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye did not determine the question of the boundaries of the territory, and each power reserved its rights in this respect.

The inhabitants of Quebec at this time were in a state of suspense, for they had no knowledge of the progress made with the negotiations between the two countries. They had no reason to complain of the English, however, who treated them well, but the Huguenots, their own countrymen, who seemed prepared to serve under the English flag, were, as usual, troublesome and fanatical on religious questions. The settlers were so much distressed at not having the benefit of the ministration of a priest of their church, that they had resolved to leave the country at the earliest opportunity.

The Lutheran minister, who had decided to remain at Quebec with Kirke's men, had much to suffer. His advice was not accepted by his own people, and he was, moreover, kept in prison for a period of six months under the pretext of inciting the soldiers of the garrison to rebellion. All these disagreements rendered the condition of the Catholics almost unendurable.

On July 13th, 1632, a white flag was seen floating from a vessel which was entering the harbour of Quebec. The inhabitants were rejoiced, and when

they were able to hear mass in the house of Madame Hébert, their happiness was complete. It was three years since they had enjoyed this privilege. One girl had been born in the interval, to the wife of Guillaume Couillard. But no death had been recorded, except the murder of an Iroquois prisoner by a Montagnais while in a state of intoxication.

The Jesuits who had arrived at the same time as Emery de Caën, took charge of the Quebec mission. In the year 1627, the Récollets, seeing that their mission had not apparently produced the results that they desired, and that they were also reduced to great distress, resolved to abandon New France for a country less ungrateful. We have seen that after the capitulation, the Récollets left with the greater number of the French for their motherland, but when they heard that Canada had been restored to France, they made preparations to resume their labours. Their superiors offered no objection, but the chief directors of the Hundred Associates, thinking the establishment of two different religious orders in the country, which as yet had no bishop, would create jealousies, determined to refuse the services of the Récollets.

Jean de Lauzon, intendant of the company for Canadian affairs, made a formal protest, and thus these noble missionaries were forced to abandon their work in Canada. The Récollets were much disappointed, but Father Le Caron, the first apostle to the Huron tribes, was so distressed at the news

that he was taken ill and died on March 29th, 1632, some days before the departure of Emery de Caën for Quebec. He had brought some manuscripts from Canada, which were accidently burnt in Normandy. This man was perhaps the purest example of all the Récollets in Canada. Others had a more illustrious name, but none gave greater proof of devotedness and courage in their dealings with the Indians, and especially the Hurons. He was generally regarded as a saint.

CHAPTER XIII

THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN NEW FRANCE

THE Jesuits, who had only been in the country about four years, had not as yet a true idea of the magnitude of the task they had undertaken. Father Charles Lalemant had abandoned the theatre of his first apostolic labours on our Canadian soil, at the same time that some workmen whom Father Noyrot had brought from France during the preceeding year, left the place. He was the last representative, together with Fathers Massé, de Noüe and de Brébeuf of the primitive church of Canada. Mention has been made of the temporary residence in the convent of the Récollets, and of a building which was erected for themselves at about two hundred feet from the shore, near the junction of the river Lairet and the river St. Charles. The Jesuits received a concession of this land which was bounded on the west by a stream called St. Michel, and the river St. Mary or Beauport on the east. This was named the Seigniory of Notre Dame des Anges.

The Jesuits' convent was finished on April 6th, 1626. It was a poor residence of about forty feet in length and thirty feet in width. The building contained a small chapel dedicated to Notre Dame des Anges, on account of a picture which decorated

a wall representing the Blessed Virgin receiving the homage of angels. This name extended beyond the chapel, and was given to the seigniory, and after a lapse of three centuries, it remains unchanged.

The different mission stations of the Jesuits in Canada and around the gulf of the St. Lawrence were maintained at the expense of the Hundred Associates from the year 1632, with the exception of their college at Quebec which was founded through the liberality of the Marquis de Gamache, who gave them a sum of sixteen thousand écus d'or for that purpose, in 1626, on the occasion of his son taking religious vows. The offer was accepted by Father Vitelleschi, general of the order, and the college was founded in 1635, and opened a few years later. "This," writes Parkman, "was the cradle of the great missions of Canada!"

As soon as the Jesuits arrived they commenced to repair their residence, and in a short time it was in a fit state for a banquet which was given to Emery de Caën, who had been appointed governor *ad interim* of the French colony.

Champlain returned from France to Quebec in the month of May of the following year, and again took over the government of New France. He brought with him Fathers Massé and Jean de Brébeuf, and their arrival was the dawn of a brighter era for the Canadian missions. The Jesuits founded, during the same year, a mission at Three Rivers, and another at Ihonatiria in the Huron country.

The mission-stations at Miscou and at Cape Breton were also opened at about the same time, but they were all, practically speaking, dependent upon the liberality of the Hundred Associates.

The Jesuits in their Relations of 1635 regarded the establishment of the mission of Notre Dame des Anges as destined to fulfil three designs which they had in view for the honour and glory of God. These were: (1.) To erect a college for the education of young Frenchmen who were becoming more and more numerous. (2.) To found a seminary for young Indians for the purpose of civilizing or improving their moral condition. (3.) To extend the missions of the Jesuits among the Hurons and other savage tribes. These three designs were in a measure accomplished by this means. From the year 1626 Quebec was the principal centre of Canadian missions, which extended from Tadousac to the Great Lakes. Seeing that the French were all gathering in the vicinity of Fort St. Louis, and that their convent was exposed to attacks of the Indians, the Jesuits decided to build their new college upon the promontory of Cape Diamond. In the year 1637 the Hundred Associates conceded twelve acres of land to the Jesuits near Fort St. Louis, upon which they built their college and a church, some years after. The seminary for young Indians was opened in the year 1627, and Father Charles Lalemant conducted a class for them as long as there were pupils to attend.

The seminary of Notre Dame des Anges has an interesting though brief history. It was Father Le Jeune's intention to have removed it near to the fort. The question of transferring it to the Huron country, in order to obtain a greater number of pupils had been discussed, but there were many reasons against the change, the principal being that the proximity to the Huron families would have caused the fathers annoyance. The seminary was, therefore, continued at Notre Dame des Anges, where it remained until it was closed. Father Le Jeune wrote to the Provincial in France on August 28th, 1636:—

"I consider it very probable that, if we had a good building in Kébec we would get more children through the very same means by which we despaired of getting them. We have always thought that the excessive love the savages bear their children would prevent our obtaining them. It will be through this very means that they will become our pupils; for, by having a few settled ones, who will attract and retain the others, the parents, who do not know what it is to refuse their children, will let them come without opposition. And, as they will be permitted during the first few years to have a great deal of liberty, they will become so accustomed to our food and our clothes that they will have a horror of the savages and their filth. We have seen this exemplified in all the children brought up among our French. They get so well

acquainted with each other in their childish plays that they do not look at the savages, except to flee from them or make sport of them. Our great difficulty is to get a building, and to find the means with which to support these children. It is true we are able to maintain them at Notre Dame des Anges; but as this place is isolated, so that there are no French children there, we have changed the plan that we formerly had to locate the seminary there. Experience shows us that it must be established where the bulk of the French population is, to attract the little savages by the French children. And, since a worthy and virtuous person has commenced by giving something for a seminary we are going to give up our attempts to clear some land, and shall make an effort to build at Kébec. I say an effort, for it is with incredible expense and labour that we build in these beginnings. What a blessing from God if we can write next year that instruction is being given in New France in three or four languages. I hope, if we succeed in getting a lodging, to see three classes at Kébec—the first, of little French children, of whom there will be perhaps twenty or thirty pupils; the second, of Hurons; the third, of Montagnés."

Father Daniel was the chief of the seminary, although he was generally assisted by other fathers, who instructed the children of the families residing near the convent. The chapel was used as a classroom, and both the boys and girls made good pro-

gress. They were soon taught to observe the customs of the French, such as joining their hands in prayers, kneeling or standing during the recitation of their lessons. They were also taught to answer with modesty, and to be respectful in their behaviour. The girls were especially apt at learning, and they endeavoured to imitate the French girls, for whom they appeared to have great love. At certain intervals a public meeting was held, at which the governor and the citizens of Quebec were present, and the pupils were questioned on religious subjects. The most successful received a reward at the hands of the governor, consisting of either a knife or an awl. They were called upon to kiss the governor's hand, and to make a bow *à la française.*

The pupils of the seminary were chiefly Hurons, and the names of some of the more prominent are known. These were Satouta, Tsiko, Teouatirhon, Andehoua, Aïandacé. The three first died during their residence in Quebec, on account of the change of air and of diet. Father Le Jeune has written that these young Indians were the columns of the seminary. They were, in fact, endued with many good qualities, and had given great hopes for the future. Satouta was the son of a Huron admiral, who was the most popular and best known Indian in the country. His authority was considered supreme, and in nautical matters his word was law. He had promised that at his death Satouta should inherit his name.

Tsiko was the son of Ouanda Koka, one of the best speakers of his tribe, and he had won the esteem and admiration of his people through his talents. Tsiko had inherited his father's gifts, and spoke so well that he astonished all who heard him, especially the fathers.

Andehoua was a model of virtue. He was baptized under the name of Armand Jean, in honour of Cardinal Richelieu. The governor stood as his godfather. Andehoua made such good progress in his studies that he became a sort of missionary, and he did everything in his power to convert his countrymen. He died at the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, in 1654, at the early age of thirty-six.

From the year 1639 the number of seminarists began to decrease, until there was only one. However, in the year 1643 four young Hurons went down to Quebec to receive instruction, and were baptized. Their godfathers were LeSueur de St. Sauveur, a priest, Martial Piraube, M. de Repentigny and M. de la Vallée. In the Relations of the Jesuits the names of three are preserved: Ateiachias, Atarohiat, and Atokouchioüani.

The seminary was then finally closed. The Jesuits opened another at Three Rivers, and at the commencement there were six pupils, but at the end of a year there were none. After eight years' experience, the Jesuits realized that it was impossible successfully to make an Indian boy adopt the manners and habits of the French, and the same result

was afterwards found by others who tried the experiment.

In the year 1635, the Jesuits' missions in New France included those at Cape Breton, Richibucto and Miscou Island. The mission of Miscou was the best organized and the most populous; the Catholics of Gaspé, Miramichi and Nipisiguit (Bathurst) went there. The island of Miscou is situated at the northern extremity of the coast of New Brunswick, near the entrance of the Baie des Chaleurs. It was the common residence of the Jesuits and of the two first who came here, Father Charles Turgis and Father Charles du Marché. On their arrival they found twenty-three Frenchmen there, who were endeavouring to form a settlement. Unfortunately, most of them were taken ill with scurvy, from which they died, including the captain, the surgeon, a clerk and nine or ten officers. Father du Marché was forced to leave the island, and finally Father Turgis succumbed to the disease, and left behind him a single man, who was in a dying condition.

In the year 1637, two other Jesuits came to this inhospitable island, Father Jacques de la Place and Father Nicholas Gondoin. They found only nine persons there, who were in charge of the storehouse. A year later, Father Claude Quentin, superior of the Canadian missions, came to assist his confrère, who had undertaken to erect a chapel, but after three years of constant labour, they both returned to Quebec in an exhausted condition.

Father Dollebeau and Father André Richard then took charge of the mission on the island of Miscou, but the former was taken ill and was obliged to return to France. During the voyage the vessel was captured by three English frigates, and while pillaging the ship a soldier set fire to the powder magazine, and as a result Father Dollebeau and the whole crew perished.

In the course of years, however, the Miscou mission increased, and the chapel proving insufficient to accommodate the congregation, the Jesuits built another at the entrance of the river Nipisiguit.

Father de Lyonne was the real founder of this new mission. Nipisiguit was a good trading and fishing-station, and a general rendezvous for the French as well as the Indians; it was also a safe harbour. Between the years 1650 and 1657, Father de Lyonne crossed the ocean three times in the interest of his mission, and in the year 1657 he founded another mission at Chedabucto, where he ended his career.

The field of the missionaries was divided after the year 1650. Father de Lyonne took charge of the mission at Chedabucto, while the stations at Miscou and Nipisiguit were under the control of Father Richard, and Father Frémin was given charge of the Richibucto mission. In the year 1661, Father Richard replaced Father de Lyonne at Chedabucto, but he only remained there one year.

The missions of the Jesuits in Acadia and Baie des Chaleurs closed with the departure of Father Richard. Some historians of Acadia mention the labours of Father Joseph Aubéri, whom Chateaubriand has immortalized in his "Atala." Father Aubéri prepared a map of Acadia, and also a memorandum of the boundaries of New France and New England in the year 1720.

The mission-station at Cape Breton was commenced in 1634, and Father Julian Perrault, a Jesuit, took up his residence there and gave religious instruction to the Micmacs, whom he found very attentive. The Micmacs were a hardy race, of great stature. Some of the men who were upwards of eighty years of age had not a single white hair.

Champlain gave to Cape Breton the name of St. Lawrence Island. The name was originally given to the cape but it was afterwards applied to the island. Bras d'Or was called Bibeaudock by the Indians, and Louisburg was commonly known as Port aux Anglais. The Portuguese had formerly occupied the island, but they were forced to leave it on account of the temperature and other causes. Nicholas Denys, who had been obliged to abandon Chedabucto, in Acadia, came to the island and founded Fort St. Pierre, which was taken from him in the year 1654 by Emmanuel le Borgne de Belle Isle, and by one Guilbault, a merchant of La Rochelle. Denys then took up his residence, sometimes at Miscou, sometimes at Gaspé or at Nipisiguit. His

son Charles Denys, Sieur de Fronsac, had settled on the shores of the river Miramichi.

The first Jesuits who were invited to take charge of the Cape Breton mission were Fathers Vimont and de Vieux-Pont, who had been brought out by Captain Daniel, who, it will be remembered, lost a great deal of time in attacking the fort which had been built on the river du Grand Cibou by Stuart. The two Jesuits and forty men were left here. The Jesuits, however, returned to France in 1630. Fathers Davost and Daniel were missionaries at Cape Breton in 1633, and when Champlain visited the place on May 5th of that year, he met the two Jesuits, who soon afterwards returned with him to Quebec.

Father Perrault resided at Cape Breton during the years 1634 and 1635, and Fathers Richard and d'Endemare came in the following year and took up their residence at Fort Ste. Anne in Grand Cibou Bay. This place had many advantages, as it was naturally fortified, and three thousand small vessels could anchor safely in the bay. The Jesuits remained at Cape Breton until the arrival of Bishop de Laval in 1659. These various missions which we have recorded, constitute the religious history of the islands and coasts of the gulf of St. Lawrence during the greater part of the seventeenth century, and they were all founded by Champlain or begun under his administration, and he certainly took an active interest in the evangelisation of the Micmacs.

In a memorandum addressed to the king, Champlain had set forth his intention to erect a church at Quebec, to be dedicated to the Redeemer. He was, however, unable to accomplish his design. He had also made a solemn promise to the Blessed Virgin, between the years 1629 and 1632, to erect a church in honour of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, should Quebec be regained, and on his return to Quebec he set out to fulfill his obligation. The occasion was favourable, as the chapel near the habitation in the Lower Town had been completely ruined.

The chapel of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance was erected during the summer of 1633, and in the autumn of the same year the Jesuits said mass for the inhabitants within the building. The increase of the population and their religious zeal, within the two following years, induced Champlain to raise this humble chapel into a small church. The building was therefore enlarged, and from that date the services assumed a solemnity of character which had been unknown before. Grand mass was celebrated every Sunday by a Jesuit, and the inhabitants each in turn offered consecrated loaves. In the afternoon, after vespers, the catechism was explained by the fathers. The French were very regular in their attendance at these ceremonies, and also at the religious instructions.

Father Charles Lalemant was the first Jesuit who lived at the presbytery as a parish priest. His successor was Father Jean de Quen. Father Le

Jeune wrote at that time:—"As soon as we had been lodged near the church (Notre Dame de la Recouvrance) Father Lalemant who had just begun to live at the residence, at the same time initiated its solemnities; Father de Quen, has succeeded him with the same inclination for ceremony. I frankly confess that my heart melted the first time I assisted in this divine service, at the sight of our Frenchmen so greatly rejoicing to hear sung aloud and publicly the praises of the great God in the midst of a barbarous people, at the sight of little children speaking the Christian language in another world. . . . Monsieur Gand's zeal in exercising all his energies to cause our French to love these solemn and public devotions, seems to me very praiseworthy. But the regulations of Monsieur our governor, his very remarkable example, and the piety of the more prominent people, hold all in the line of duty."

When Champlain was on his deathbed he was aware that his promise had been fulfilled. Notre Dame de la Recouvrance was then a fine church, and it was due to his labours. By his last will he bequeathed to this church all his personal chattels, and three thousand livres in stock of the Company of New France, and nine hundred livres which he had invested in a private company founded by some associates, together with a sum of four hundred livres from his private purse. It was the whole fortune of the first governor of New France. This

will was afterwards contested and annulled, and the church was only allowed to receive the sum of nine hundred livres, which had been realized from the sale of his personal property. This sum was devoted to the purchase of a pyx, a silver gilt chalice, and a basin and cruets.

Several gifts were made for the decoration of the church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. Duplessis-Bochart presented two pictures, one representing the Blessed Virgin, and the other the Holy Family. De Castillon, seignior of the Island of Orleans, offered four small pictures, one of St. Ignace de Loyola, of St. François Xavier, of St. Stanislas de Kostka, and of St. Louis de Gonzagne, and also a large engraving of Notre Dame. Champlain had also placed on one of the walls a painting which had been rescued from the shipwreck during Father Noyrot's voyage.

During the year after Champlain's death, the Jesuits consecrated the church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance under the name of the Immaculate Conception, which from that date was the special patron of the parochial church of Quebec.

The inauguration of this patronage afforded an opportunity for public rejoicing. On December 7th, 1636, a flag was hoisted on the fort and the cannon were fired many times. On the 8th, the day observed by the church in honour of the Immaculate Conception, the citizens fired a salute from the muskets at dawn, and they all assisted at mass, and received the Holy Communion. Devotion to the Mother of

God soon became general among the people, who were characterized as moral and honest.

Notre Dame de la Recouvrance was burnt on June 14th, 1640. In a few hours the residence of the Jesuits, the parochial church, and the chapel of Champlain, where his bones had been placed, were destroyed. The Relation of 1640 gives a short description of the catastrophe : " A rather violent wind, the extreme drouth, the oily wood of the fir of which these buildings were constructed, kindled a fire so quick and violent that hardly anything could be done. All the vessels and the bells and chalices were melted; the stuffs some virtuous persons had sent to us to clothe a few seminarists, or poor savages, were consumed in this same sacrifice. Those truly royal garments that His Majesty had sent to our savages to be used in public functions, to honour the liberality of so great a king, were engulfed in this fiery wreck, which reduced us to the hospital, for we had to go and take lodgings in the hall of the poor, until monsieur, our governor, loaned us a house, and after being lodged therein, the hall of the sick had to be changed into a church." This conflagration was a great loss. The registers were burnt, and the Jesuits had to reproduce them from memory. The chief buildings of Quebec had disappeared, and it was seventeen years before a a new church was built.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GROWTH OF QUEBEC

A QUARTER of a century had elapsed since the founding of Quebec, and still it could scarcely be regarded as other than a village, while in some parts of New France colonization was absolutely null. Agriculture had received some attention in the vicinity of Quebec, but it was on such a small scale that it should be termed gardening rather than farming.

Charlevoix writes: "The fort of Quebec, surrounded by a few wretched houses and some sheds, two or three cabins on the island of Montreal, as many, perhaps, at Tadousac, and at some other points on the river St. Lawrence, to accommodate fishers and traders, a settlement begun at Three Rivers and the ruins of Port Royal, this was all that constituted New France—the sole fruit of the discoveries of Verrazano, Jacques Cartier, de Roberval, Champlain, of the great expenses of the Marquis de la Roche and de Monts, and of the industry of many Frenchmen, who might have built up a great colony had they been well directed."

The various companies, as we have seen, took no interest whatever in settling the country, their chief design being to carry on fur trade with the Indians.

Patriotism had no meaning for them, the all-absorbing question was money. This was not the case, however, with the company established by Cardinal Richelieu, whose desire was to christianize the savages, to found a powerful colony, and to secure for his king the possession of New France. The principal associates of this company were pious, patriotic and zealous men, who laboured to extend the power and influence of France throughout the vast continent of America for the honour and glory of God. There were among the associates a certain number of gentlemen and ecclesiastics, who, realizing their incapacity to transact the business of such an important undertaking, preferred to hand over the administration to merchants of Dieppe, Rouen and Paris, together with the advantages to be derived therefrom. A special association was consequently formed, composed of merchants who undertook the financial affairs of the settlement, such as paying the new governor, providing ammunition and provisions, and maintaining the forts; and if there were profits they were to be divided amongst the Hundred Associates. This association was formed before the departure of Champlain for Quebec in 1633. Its agents were a merchant of Rouen named Rosée, and Cheffault, a lawyer of Paris, who had a representative at Quebec.

As it was necessary for the Hundred Associates to appoint a governor of New France, they offered the position to Champlain, as he was universally

respected and known to be experienced and disinterested. Moreover he was well acquainted with the country, and on friendly terms with the savages. It is doubtful whether any one could have taken his place with better prospects of success. Champlain, moreover, desired to finish his work, and although there was much to accomplish, the future appeared more favourable than at any other time. The company had a large capital at its disposal, and this alone seemed to insure the success of the colony. Three ships were equipped for Quebec in the spring of 1633, the *St. Pierre*, one hundred and fifty tons burden, carrying twelve cannon ; the *St. Jean*, one hundred and sixty tons, with ten cannon, and the *Don de Dieu*, eighty tons, with six cannon. The ships carried about two hundred persons, including two Jesuits, a number of sailors and settlers, and one woman and two girls. Provisions and ammunition were in abundance. When the fleet arrived in the St. Lawrence, Champlain saw a number of English trading vessels which were there contrary to the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. From this moment Champlain resolved to establish a fixed post for trading, both for the Indians as well as strangers. The island selected for this purpose by Champlain was situated in the river St. Lawrence, about ten leagues above Quebec, and was named Richelieu Island.

Champlain caused the island to be fortified as soon as possible, and surrounded it with a platform, upon which cannon were placed pointing in every

direction. Sentinels were placed on guard, and it would have been impossible for vessels to pass unobserved. The Indians were informed of this new plan, and in the autumn of the same year, the Nipissings and the Algonquins of the Iroquet came to this island for trading. The Hurons, however, came to Quebec, as they had heard from the Algonquins of Allumette Island that the French would take revenge for the murder of Étienne Brûlé. Champlain did not desire to punish them for the death of this traitor, and he therefore did his best to retain the friendship of the Indians, and entertained them at public feasts. He knew well that their fur trade was of great importance, and, moreover, he wanted them as allies in the event of an attack by the Iroquois, which might be expected at any time, as they were unreliable and always anxious for war. A league with the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais, with one hundred French, would, in the opinion of Champlain, be sufficient to protect the colony, and he wrote to that effect to the cardinal. This was probably his last letter to the great minister:—

"MONSEIGNEUR:—The honour of the commands that I have received from your Eminence has inspired me with greater courage to render you every possible service with all the fidelity and affection that can be desired from a faithful servant. I shall spare neither my blood nor my life whenever the occasion shall demand them.`

"There are subjects enough in these regions, if your Eminence, considering the character of the country, shall desire to extend your authority over them. This territory is more than fifteen hundred leagues in length, lying between the same parallels of latitude as our own France. It is watered by one of the finest rivers in the world, into which empty many tributaries more than four hundred leagues in length, beautifying a country inhabited by a vast number of tribes. Some of them are sedentary in their mode of life, possessing, like the Muscovites, towns and villages built of wood; others are nomadic hunters and fishermen, all longing to welcome the French and religious fathers, that they may be instructed in our faith.

"The excellence of this country cannot be too highly estimated or praised, both as to the richness of the soil, the diversity of the timber such as we have in France, the abundance of wild animals, game and fish, which are of extraordinary magnitude. All this invites you, monseigneur, and makes it seem as if God had created you above all your predecessors to do a work here more pleasing to Him than any that has yet been accomplished.

" For thirty years I have frequented this country, and have acquired a thorough knowledge of it, obtained from my own observation and the information given me by the native inhabitants. Monseigneur, I pray you to pardon my zeal, if I say that, after your renown has spread throughout the

East, you should end by compelling its recognition in the West.

" Expelling the English from Quebec has been a very important beginning, but, nevertheless, since the treaty of peace between the two crowns, they have returned to carry on trade and annoy us in this river, declaring that it was enjoined upon them to withdraw, but not to remain away, and that they have their king's permission to come for the period of thirty years. But, if your Eminence wills, you can make them feel the power of your authority. This can furthermore be extended at your pleasure to him who has come here to bring about a general peace among these people, who are at war with a nation holding more than four hundred leagues in subjection, and who prevent the free use of the rivers and highways. If this peace were made, we should be in complete and easy enjoyment of our possessions. Once established in the country, we could expel our enemies, both English and Flemings, forcing them to withdraw to the coast, and, by depriving them of trade with the Iroquois, oblige them to abandon the country entirely. It requires but one hundred and twenty men, light armed for avoiding arrows, by whose aid, together with two or three thousand savage warriors, our allies, we should be, within a year, absolute masters of all these people ; and by establishing order among them, promote religious worship and secure an incredible amount of traffic.

"The country is rich in mines of copper, iron, steel, brass, silver, and other minerals which may be found here.

"The cost, monseigneur, of one hundred and twenty men is a trifling one to His Majesty, the enterprise the most noble that can be imagined.

"All for the glory of God, whom I pray with my whole heart to grant you ever increasing prosperity, and to make me all my life, monseigneur, your most humble, most faithful and most obedient servant, "CHAMPLAIN.

"At Quebec, in New France, August 15th, 1635."

In order to consolidate his general scheme for the colonization of the country, Champlain desired that the missionaries should settle permanently among the Huron tribes. The Jesuits wished to go there, as they believed they would find a field for their labours. They had previously set before the people the light of the Catholic faith, but these efforts had not been as successful as they had wished. Father de Brébeuf, the apostle to the Hurons, having decided to return to his former sphere of labours, left for the Huron country in 1634, prepared to remain there as long as there was work to be done. He was destined to live among the Hurons until they were finally dispersed by the Iroquois.

When Champlain arrived at Quebec, he summoned Emery de Caën to deliver to Duplessis-Bochart the keys of the fort and habitation. Champlain's arrival caused much rejoicing among the

inhabitants, for he inspired both their love and respect, and he was, perhaps, the only man who could impress them with a belief in their future, and thus retain them in the country. The arrival of a certain number of settlers during the years 1633-4, was also an encouragement for all. The restoration of Canada to France caused some excitement in the maritime provinces of France, especially in Normandy, as most of the settlers of New France up to this date were from there. The exceptions were, Louis Hébert, a native of Paris, and Guillaume Couillard, of St. Malo. Emigration soon extended to other parts of the provinces, as the result of the publication of the Relations of the Jesuits, which had been issued in Paris and elsewhere during the years 1632 and 1633. Several pious and charitable persons began to take an interest in the missions of New France, and forwarded both money and goods to help them.

Some nuns offered to go to Canada to look after the sick and to instruct the young girls, and in the year 1633 a few families arrived in Quebec with Champlain, who had defrayed their expenses.

In the year 1634 an association was formed in France for the purpose of promoting colonization, and a group of about forty persons, recruited in different parts of the province of Perche, were sent to Canada, with Robert Giffard at their head. Giffard, it will be remembered, had visited Quebec in the year 1627 as surgeon of the vessels sent out by

the company, but he had no intention of settling in the country. After having built a log hut on the Beauport shore, he devoted his leisure to hunting and fishing, game and fish being plentiful at that time, and returned to France during the same year. He was appointed surgeon to Roquemont's fleet during the following year, and as the vessels were captured by the English, he, with the others on board, was compelled to return to his mother country. This misfortune did not discourage the former solitary inhabitant of Beauport, and he resolved to revisit the country, but this time with a view of settling and of farming.

Giffard had suffered many losses, and as a compensation for his services and misfortune, he obtained a tract of land from the Company of New France, one league in length and a league and a half in breadth, situated between the rivers Montmorency and Beauport, bounded in front by the river St. Lawrence, and in the rear by the Laurentian Mountains. He was also granted as a special favour, a tract of land of two acres in extent, situated near the fort, for the purpose of building a residence, surrounded with grounds. These concessions, which seem large at first sight, were, however, not new to the colony. Louis Hébert had been granted the fief of the Sault au Matelot, and the fief Lepinay, while the Jesuits had received the fief of Notre Dame des Anges almost free of conditions.

Under these favourable conditions Giffard induced two citizens of Mortagne, Zacharie Cloutier and Jean Guyon, to accompany him to Canada. Cloutier was a joiner, and Guyon a mason. They promised their seignior that they would build him a residence, thirty feet long and sixteen feet wide.

The other emigrants came to Canada at their own risk. The party numbered forty-three persons, including women and children, and were within a space of from five to eight leagues of Mortagne, the chief town of the old province of Perche. There were two exceptions, however, Jean Juchereau came from La Ferté Vidame in Thimerais, and Noël Langlois was from St. Leonard, in Normandy.

The vessels bearing the contingent of settlers arrived in Quebec in June. They were four in number, under the command of Captains de Nesle, de Lormel, Bontemps, and Duplessis-Bochart. Robert Giffard had preceded the party by a few days, and he lost no time in selecting the spot where his residence was to be built, upon which he planted a cross on July 25th. He also commenced clearing the land, and two years after he gathered in a harvest of wheat sufficient to maintain twenty persons. The soil in this part was very productive, and it is, even to-day, the richest in the province of Quebec.

Among the emigrants of the year 1634 were two remarkable men, Jean Bourdon, and a priest named Jean LeSueur de St. Sauveur. The Abbé LeSueur de St. Sauveur had abandoned his parish of St.

Sauveur de Thury, which is to-day known as Thury-Harcourt, in Normandy, to come to Quebec. One of the suburbs of Quebec to-day takes its name from this active and devoted priest.

Jean Bourdon, an inseparable friend of the abbé, established himself on the borders of Côteau Ste. Geneviève, which is to-day known as St. John's suburb. He built a house and a mill, and also a chapel, which he named Chapel St. Jean. Other pioneers soon settled near Bourdon's place, which finally gave to Quebec a suburb.

Bourdon was a man of great capacity, and he in turn filled the rôle of surveyor, engineer, cartographer, delineator, farmer, diplomat and lawyer. He saw the colony increasing, and knew eight governors of the colony, including Champlain. He was also acquainted with Bishop Laval, the Venerable Mother Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation, and was on good terms with the Jesuits and the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu and Ursuline Convent. Bourdon played an important part in the affairs of the colony. He was present at the foundation of the Jesuits' college, of the Quebec seminary, and of the Conseil Souverain, of which he was procureur fiscal. Of his personal qualities, the Venerable Mother de l'Incarnation has written that he was "the father of the poor, the comfort of orphans and widows, a good example for everybody."

One of the articles of the act incorporating the Company of New France, provided that the colony

was to be settled with French and Catholic subjects only. This provision may appear at first sight to be arbitrary, but when we consider that one of the chief objects of the colonization of New France was to convert the savages, and that the Huguenots with their new form of religion were, generally speaking, hostile to the king and to the Catholics, it seems to have been a judicious provision. In such a small community the existence of two creeds so opposed to each other could hardly have produced harmony, and as the Catholics were undertaking the enterprise and it originated with them, they surely had the right to do what they considered would most effectively secure their ends.

For political reasons this action could also be defended, for the loyalty of the Huguenots was, perhaps, doubtful, and their past actions did not offer any guarantee for the future. They did not hesitate to preach revolt against the authorities of France, and, therefore, intimate connection with the Indians might have produced results prejudicial to the colony. If France had the welfare of the colony at heart, it behooved her to exclude every disturbing element. Viewed impartially, this precaution was undoubtedly just, and those who blame the company for their action, do not rightly understand the difficulties which existed at that period.

Richelieu, who had a clear insight into the affairs of the time, did not prohibit trade between the Huguenots and the Indians, but he refused them

permission to settle in Canada, or to remain there for any length of time without special leave. Champlain had observed the attitude of the Huguenots, their unwillingness to erect a fort at Quebec, their clashes with the Catholics, and their treatment of the Jesuits, and although he was not fanatical, he was pleased with this rule. The foundation of the new settlement was based upon religion, and religion was essential to its progress. Peace and harmony must be maintained, and everything that would promote trouble or quarrel must be excluded.

During the seventeenth century, England pursued a hostile policy towards Catholics. A Catholic was not eligible for a public office, and the learned professions were closed to them, neither could a Catholic act as a tutor or as an executor to a will. Prejudice was carried still further, and even the books treating of their faith were suppressed, while relics or religious pictures were forbidden. These were only a few of the persecutions to which they were subject.

In 1621 Champlain had joined in a request to the king to forbid Protestant emigration to Canada, but his petition was not granted, because the company was composed of mixed creeds. The company formed by Richelieu, however, was solely Catholic, and there were no difficulties on this score. The result of this policy was soon manifest. There were no more dissensions on board the vessels as to places

of worship, and the Catholics were, as a consequence, enabled to observe their religious duties without fear of annoyance. The beneficent influence of this policy extended to the settlement, where the people lived in peace, and were not subject to the petty quarrels which arose through a difference in creed.

In the Relation of 1637 we find evidence of this: "Now it seems to me that I can say with truth that the soil of New France is watered by so many heavenly blessings, that souls nourished in virtue find here their true element, and are, consequently, healthier than elsewhere. As for those whose vices have rendered them diseased, they not only do not grow worse, but very often, coming to breathe a salubrious air, and far removed from opportunities for sin, changing climate they change their lives, and a thousand times bless the sweet providence of God, which has made them find the door to felicity where others fear only misery.

"In a word, God has been worshipped in His houses, preaching has been well received, both at Kébec and at the Three Rivers, where Father Buteux usually instructed our French people; each of our brethren has been occupied in hearing many confessions, both ordinary and general; very few holidays and Sundays during the winter have passed in which we have not seen and received persons at the table of our Lord. And certain ones, who for three, four and five years had not confessed in old France, now, in the new, approach this so salutary

sacrament oftener than once a month; prayers are offered kneeling and in public, not only at the fort, but also in families and little companies scattered here and there. As we have taken for patroness of the Church of Kébec the Holy Virgin under the title of her Conception, which we believe to be immaculate, so we have celebrated this festival with solemnity and rejoicing.

"The festival of the glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph, father, patron and protector of New France, is one of the great solemnities of this country. . . . It is, in my opinion, through his favour and through his merits, that the inhabitants of New France who live upon the banks of the great river Saint Lawrence, have resolved to receive all the good customs of the old and to refuse admission to the bad ones.

"And to tell the truth, so long as we have a governor who is a friend of virtue, and so long as we have free speech in the Church of God, the monster of ambition will have no altar there.

"All the principal personages of our colony honour religion; I say with joy and God's blessing, that those whom His goodness has given to command over us, and those also who are coming to establish themselves in these countries, enjoy, cherish, and wish to follow the most sincere maxims of Christianity. . . . Justice reigns here, insolence is banished, and shamelessness would not dare to raise its head. . . . It is very important to introduce good laws and pious customs in these early beginnings,

for those who shall come after us will walk in our footsteps, and will readily conform to the example given them by us, whether tending to virtue or vice."

We could multiply evidence on this point. The Jesuits always recall this good feature of the settlers, their respect for their religion, its worship and its ministers.

The author of the "Secret Life of Louis XV," says that New France owed its vigour to its first settlers; their families had multiplied and formed a people, healthy, strong, honourable, and attached to good principles. Father Le Clercq, a Récollet, the Venerable Mother de l'Incarnation, and many others, seem to take pleasure in praising the virtues of our first ancestors.

Champlain had begun his administration by establishing order everywhere, and chiefly among the soldiers, who easily understood military discipline, but the religious code with more difficulty. Fort St. Louis was like a school of religion and of every virtue. They lived there as in a monastery. There was a lecture during meals; in the morning they read history, and at supper the lives of saints. After that they said their prayers, and Champlain had introduced the old French custom of ringing the church bells three times a day, during the recitation of the Angelus. At night, every one was invited to go to Champlain's room for the night's prayer, said by Champlain himself.

These good examples, given by Champlain, governor of the country, were followed, and produced good fruits of salvation among the whole population. The blessing of God on the young colony was evident, and when Champlain died, he had the consolation of leaving after him a moral, honest and virtuous people.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

IN the autumn of the year 1635, Champlain suffered from a stroke of paralysis, which was considered very severe from the commencement. However, hopes were entertained for his recovery. The months of October and November passed away, and still no sign of improvement appeared. Champlain, therefore, made his will, which he was able to sign plainly, in the presence of some witnesses. Father Charles Lalemant, the friend and confessor of Champlain, administered to him the last rites of the church, and on the night of December 25th, 1635, he passed away at Fort St. Louis.

All the inhabitants, without exception, were deeply affected on hearing the news of his demise, and a great number attended his funeral. The funeral sermon was preached by Father Le Jeune. Champlain was buried in a grave which had been specially prepared, and later on, a small chapel was erected to protect his precious remains.[1] This chapel was

[1] The exact site of the chapel wherein Champlain was buried is unknown, although many antiquarians have endeavoured to throw light upon the subject. In 1866 some bones and the fragment of an inscription were found in a kind of vault at the foot of Breakneck Stairs, and Messrs. Laverdière and Casgrain were under the impression that Champlain's tomb had been found. In 1875 the Abbé Casgrain discovered a

unfortunately burnt, as we have already mentioned, during the conflagration of June 14th, 1640.

The Jesuits' Relations of 1636 give a full account of the last days of Champlain, which we here quote: "On December 25th, the day of the birth of our Saviour upon earth, Monsieur de Champlain, our governor, was reborn in Heaven; at least we can say that his death was full of blessings. I am sure that God has shown him this favour in consideration of the benefits he has procured for New France, where we hope some day God will be loved and served by our French, and known and adored by our savages. Truly he had led a life of great justice, equity and perfect loyalty to his king and towards the gentlemen of the company. But at his death he crowned his virtues with sentiments of piety so lofty that he astonished us all. What tears he shed! How ardent became his zeal for the service of God! How great was his love for the families here—saying that they must be vigorously assisted for the good of the country, and made comfortable in every possible way in these early stages, and that he would do it if God gave him health. He was not

document which he considered proved that the chapel had been built in the Upper Town, in the vicinity of the parochial church and of Fort St. Louis. This opinion was further confirmed by other documents which have since been found. The chapel was in existence in the year 1661, but after this date no mention is made of it. The parochial archives contain no mention of the place, and the only facts that we have concerning the tomb, are that Father Raymbault and François de Ré, Sieur Gand, were buried near Champlain's remains.

taken unawares in the account which he had to render unto God, for he had long ago prepared a general confession of his whole life, which he made with great contrition to Father Lalemant, whom he honoured with his friendship. The father comforted him throughout his sickness, which lasted two months and a half, and did not leave him until his death. He had a very honourable burial, the funeral procession being formed of the people, the soldiers, the captains and the churchmen. Father Lalemant officiated at this burial, and I was charged with the funeral oration, for which I did not lack material. Those whom he left behind have reason to be well satisfied with him; for although he died out of France, his name will not therefore be any less glorious to posterity."

Champlain left no posterity. His wife spent only four years in Canada, after which she resided continually in Paris. During her residence in New France, she studied the Algonquin language, and instructed the young Indians in catechism, and in this manner she won the friendship of the native tribes. It was the fashion of the time for a lady of quality to wear at her girdle a small mirror, and the youthful Hélène observed the custom. The savages, who were delighted to be in her company, were oft time astonished to see their own image reflected on the crystalline surface of this mirror, and said, with their native simplicity: "A lady so handsome, who cures our diseases, and loves us to so great an extent

as to bear our image near her breast, must be superior to a human being." They, therefore, had a kind of veneration for her, and they would have offered their homage to her instead of to the Deity of whom they had only an imperfect knowledge.

The Indians were Madame Champlain's special care, but she was respected by the French as well. We do not know very much about her social intercourse with the different families of Quebec, but it is not probable that she ignored Madame Hébert or her family, as Faillon seems to believe. Her own distinction and the position of her husband would, no doubt, render her particular in the choice of friends, but we can scarcely believe that she would completely ignore Madame Couillard, who was of her own age. How was it that she consented to live alone in Quebec during the long absence of her husband?

After her return to Paris in 1624, Madame Champlain lived alone, and became more and more detached from the world, till she asked her husband to allow her to enter an Ursuline convent. Champlain, fearing that this desire might arise rather from caprice than a vocation for the life of the cloister, thought it advisable to refuse her request, and he bade her a last adieu in 1633. After Champlain's death, Father Le Jeune informed her that she was now free to follow the dictates of her heart.

According to the marriage settlement, Champlain

was obliged to leave to his wife, if she were still living, all his possessions. By his last will, however, he left all his property to the church. Champlain had no desire to injure his wife by this act; on the contrary, he knew that her piety was great, and that she would probably applaud the course he had taken, which was owing to his extraordinary devotion to Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, the church which he had built and loved. Madame Champlain, in fact, made no opposition, and the will was confirmed on July 11th, 1637. The will, however, was contested by Marie Camaret, a first cousin of Champlain, and wife of Jacques Hersault, comptroller of customs at La Rochelle, and a famous trial was the result. The will was contested on two grounds: (1.) That the will was contrary to the marriage settlement, and therefore ought to be annulled; (2.) That the will was made by foreign hands, as it was difficult to suppose that Champlain had chosen the Virgin Mary as his heir.

These were the contentions of Master Boileau. The attorney-general Bignon easily refuted the second allegation by proving that Madame Champlain had recognized the signature of her husband, and had stated that the expression and style were his. The terms of this bequest to the Virgin were quite natural to a man of Champlain's character, "When we know," said the attorney, "that he frequently made use of Christian expressions in his general conversation."

Although the authenticity of the will was proved, the attorney-general argued that it ought to be set aside in face of the deed of settlement. The court upheld this view, and the property of Champlain, with the exception of the sum of nine hundred livres, derived from the sale of his chattels, returned to his natural heirs.

This trial and other affairs prevented Madame Champlain from carrying out her resolution, and it was not until November 7th, 1645, that she entered the monastery of St. Ursula at Paris. She first entered the institution as a benefactress, and soon after became a novice under the name of Hélène de St. Augustin. There seems to have been some difficulties with regard to her profession as a nun, and she therefore resolved to found an Ursuline monastery at Meaux. Bishop Séguier granted the necessary permission to found the monastery, and also for her to take with her three nuns and a lay sister. Hélène de St. Augustin left Paris for Meaux on March 17th, 1648, and made her profession five months after. As a preparation for this solemn act, she made a public confession in the presence of the community. She also recited her faults, kneeling, and wearing a cord about her neck, and bearing a lighted taper in her hands. Mère Hélène de St. Augustin lived only six years in her convent at Meaux, and died on December 20th, 1654, at the age of fifty years, leaving the memory of a saintly life.

Eustache Boullé, the brother of Hélène de St. Augustin, became a convert to Catholicism through the intervention of his sister, and entered the Minim order. He was sent to Italy, where he lived for six years. During his sojourn there his sister sent to him one thousand livres a year, and at her death she bequeathed to him the sum of six thousand livres, and all her chattels, together with a pension of four hundred livres for life.

All those who have carefully studied the life of Champlain, have been impressed by the many brilliant qualities which he possessed. Some have praised his energy, his courage, his loyalty, his disinterestedness, and his probity. Others have admired the charity which he exhibited towards his neighbours, his zeal, his practical faith, his exalted views and his perseverance. The fact is, that in Champlain all these qualities were united to a prominent degree.

The contemporaries of Champlain did not perhaps appreciate his merits, or his heroic efforts as a founder. This is not altogether singular, for even in the physical world one cannot rightly estimate the altitude of a mountain by remaining close to its base, but at a distance a just appreciation of its proportions may be obtained.

If the contemporaries of Champlain failed to render him justice, posterity has made amends, and Time, the sole arbitrator of fame, has placed the founder of Quebec upon a pedestal of glory which will become more brilliant as the centuries roll on.

Nearly three centuries had elapsed since the heroic Saintongeais first set foot on the soil of Canada, when, at the close of the nineteenth century, a spectacle was witnessed in the city of his foundation which proved that the name of Champlain was graven on the hearts of all Canadians. The ceremonies attending the inauguration of the splendid monument which now adorns Quebec, have become a matter of history, and seldom could such a scene be repeated again. France and England, the two great nations from which Canadians have descended, each paid homage to the illustrious founder; nor can we forget the noble tribute which was paid by the latest English governor, representing Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to the first French governor, representing His Majesty the King of France and of Navarre.

It is seldom that the deeds of the great men of past ages have been more fittingly remembered. Champlain, as we have previously remarked, possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities necessary for a founder, and his character is therefore exceptional, for over and above all the heroism he displayed, all his perseverance, his devotion to his country, we behold the working of a Christian mind, and the desire to propagate the faith of his fathers.

What would have been the result of the missions without his aid? It was Champlain who caused the Catholic standard to be planted on the shores of Canada. It was he who brought the missionaries to

the new settlement, and maintained them at Quebec, at Tadousac, and in the Huron country. It was Champlain, too, who founded the parochial church of Quebec, and afterwards endowed it.

Champlain's work rested solely upon a religious foundation, hence his work has endured. It is true that the founder of Quebec had certain worldly ambitions: he desired to promote commerce between the French and the Indians, but surely this is not a matter for which he should be reproached. Without trade the inhabitants of the settlement could not exist, and without the development of the settlement, his work of civilization would necessarily end. He worked for the material prosperity of the settlement, but not to increase his own fortune. The development of trade was also essential to Champlain in his capacity of explorer, and it was only through this means that he could extend the bounds of his mother country. This was surely the wisdom of a true patriot. What nobler ambition on earth could any one have than this, to extend the kingdom of his God and of his king?

Champlain has been justly called *The Father of New France*, and this is certainly a glorious title. The name of Champlain is indissolubly associated with this country, and will live long after his contemporaries are forgotten, for many of them now only live through him.

America contains a number of towns which have carefully preserved the names of their founders,

whose memories are consecrated by monuments which will recall to future generations their noble work. But where is the town or state that can point to a founder whose work equalled that of Champlain? He had to spend thirty of the best years of his life in his endeavours to found a settlement on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Twenty times he crossed the Atlantic in the interests of the colony, and in the meantime he had constantly to combat the influence of the merchants who vigorously opposed the settlement of the French in Canada.

If we study the history of the mercantile companies from the years 1608 to 1627, we find on the one hand, a body of men absorbed by one idea, that of growing rich, and on the other hand, a man, anxious, it is true, to look after the material interests of the merchants and of the people, but hand in hand with this the desire to extend the dominion of his sovereign. Here was a vast country, capable of producing great wealth, and struggling for its possession was a body of avaricious men, while valiantly guarding its infancy, we find a single champion, the heroic Champlain. Champlain watched over the new settlement with the tender solicitude of a parent carefully protecting his offspring from danger, and ready to sacrifice his life to save it from disaster. In small vessels of sixty or eighty tons, Champlain had repeatedly exposed his life to danger in crossing the ocean. His health had also been exposed during the days and nights spent in the open forests, or when

passing on the dangerous rivers in his efforts to explore new territory. He was also constantly at the mercy of the Indians, whose treachery was proverbial. Under all these dangers and through all these conditions, Champlain's conduct was exemplary. He was charitable as a missionary towards these poor children of the woods. When threatened with hunger or malady, he relieved their wants and took care of the young children, some of whom he adopted. Others again he placed in French families, hoping that sooner or later they would be baptized into the fold of Christ's flock. In his intercourse with the chiefs, Champlain took occasion to explain to them the rudiments of the Christian faith, hoping thereby to pave the way for the work of the missionaries. Whenever he found any children that seemed more intelligent than usual, he sent them to France, where they could be instructed, and either enter a convent or take service in some good family. And who can tell whether some of these children did not afterwards become missionaries to their own country?

Champlain's prudence in his dealings with the savages was not less remarkable than his charity. This conduct gave him an influence over the Indians that no other Frenchman was able to obtain. The Indian tribes regarded Champlain as a father, but their love was mingled with a reverential fear, and every word and action was of deep significance to them. They had faith in Champlain, which after all

was not unusual, for he had never deceived them. Though they were barbarous and uncouth, and generally untruthful, they could distinguish the false from the true from the lips of a Frenchman. Though given to dissimulation themselves, they could appreciate sincerity in others.

Some writers have questioned Champlain's prudence touching the alliance which he made with some Indians for the purpose of fighting the aggressive Iroquois. We have already shown that if Champlain desired to maintain his settlement at Quebec, such an alliance was not only prudent, but essential. The Hurons and allied tribes, it is true, were barbarous, though not to so great an extent as the Iroquois, but they had the same vices and were as perfidious. The least discontent or whim would have been sufficient for the whole band to have swept the fort away. By making an alliance with them, and promising to assist them against their inveterate foes, it became to their advantage to support Champlain, and thus to render his people secure against attack. Moreover the numerical strength of the settlers in the early days was not sufficient for Champlain to have imposed terms by force of arms, and as it was necessary for his people to trade with the Indians, he could not have done better, under the circumstances, than to form this alliance, which insured business relations and protection for his countrymen.

This alliance was undoubtedly made at a sacrifice

to Champlain, and he had to suffer many humiliations and privations thereby. We cannot imagine that he found any pleasure in going to war with a lot of savages, or in fighting against a ferocious band, with whom neither he nor his people had any quarrel. It is certain that Champlain did not encourage them in their wars, and he was careful not to put any weapons into their hands. The same amount of prudence was not exercised by those who came after the French and endeavoured to colonize New England and New Netherland.

Champlain's policy was one of conciliation. He desired peace, harmony and charity above all things. As a respectful and obedient child of his mother, the Catholic Church, he was very anxious that her teachings and advice should be observed by those who were placed under his authority. Although in his early life he had followed the career of a soldier, still he regarded the profession of arms as useful only to put into question the ancient axiom, *Si vis pacem, para bellum.* Wars and quarrels had no attraction for Champlain, and he always preferred a friendly arrangement of any difficulty. He was a lover of peace, rather than of bloodshed, and the kindly nature of his disposition prevented him adopting vigorous measures.

Nevertheless, in the fulfilment of his duty as a judge, he was just, and would punish the guilty in order to restrain abuses or crimes. At this period there was no court of justice in New France, but

Champlain's commission empowered him to name officers to settle quarrels and disputes. There was a king's attorney, a lieutenant of the Prévôté, and a clerk of the Quebec jurisdiction, which had been established by the king. Champlain, however, was often called upon to decide a point of law, and we learn from his history that he was unable on account of death to settle a point which had arisen between two of Robert Giffard's farmers.

Champlain's authority was very extended, and whatever good may have resulted from his administration is due to the fact that he exercised his power with wisdom and prudence. Champlain's influence has expanded throughout the country wherever the French language is spoken, from the Huron peninsula, along the Algonquins' river, from Sault St. Louis, Tadousac and Quebec, and every one has recognized that Champlain alone, among the men of his day, had sufficient patriotism and confidence in the future of the colony to maintain and hold aloft under great difficulties, the lily banner of France on our Canadian shores.

After having founded Quebec, Champlain, with characteristic wisdom, chose the places where now stand the cities of Montreal and Three Rivers. He was particularly fortunate in his selections, and any buildings that he caused to be erected, were built from his own plans and under his own directions.

On the whole, Champlain's writings are very interesting, notwithstanding the fact that he is

somewhat diffuse in his style. Writing in the style of the commencement of the seventeenth century, we see traces, especially in his figures and descriptions, of the beauties of a language which was then in a transitory state. However, whether his style may be commended or condemned, it is of little consequence, since he has given to the world such ample details of his life and achievements as a discoverer, an explorer and a founder. His writings are the more remarkable from the fact that they were composed during the scanty leisure of his daily life, and we owe him a debt of gratitude for having sacrificed this leisure to give us such precious treasures.[1] Such was the life of this peerless man, whose incessant labours were dedicated to the service of God and the glory of France.

The city of Quebec is justly proud of her noble founder, and it is a source of gratification to the inhabitants to point to the stately monument which stands upon the spot consecrated by the life and death of Champlain. The inscription commemorates the great work of the founder, and of his explorations; but in the hearts of the people of Canada, Champlain has a still more precious monument, and the flourishing condition of our Dominion to-day is

[1] The last publication of Champlain bears the date of 1632, with the following title: *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, et toutes les Descouvertes qu'il a faites en ce pays depuis l'an 1603, jusques en l'an 1629. MDCXXXII.* This volume is dedicated to Richelieu. According to M. Laverdière, it was reissued, in 1640, with a new date and title.

but the unconscious outcome of the trial and labours of his heroic life.

All historians who have written of Champlain attribute to him the qualities which we have endeavoured to depict in these pages. Charlevoix, a Jesuit, and the author of the first great history of Canada, written about one hundred years after the death of the founder of New France, thus writes:

"Champlain died at Quebec, generally and justly regretted. M. de Champlain was, beyond contradiction, a man of merit, and may be well called, *The Father of New France.* He had good sense, much penetration, very upright views, and no man was ever more skilled in adopting a course in the most complicated affairs. What all admired most in him was his constancy in following up his enterprises, his firmness in the greatest dangers, a courage proof against the most unforeseen reverses and disappointments, ardent and disinterested patriotism, a heart tender and compassionate for the unhappy, and more attentive to the interests of his friends than his own, a high sense of honour and great probity. His memoirs show that he was not ignorant of anything that one of his profession should know, and we find in him a faithful and sincere historian, an attentively observant traveller, a judicious writer, a good mathematician and an able mariner.

"But what crowns all these good qualities is the fact that in his life, as well as in his writings, he shows himself always a truly Christian man, zealous

for the service of God, full of candour and religion. He was accustomed to say what we read in his memoirs, 'That the salvation of a single soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire, and that kings should seek to extend their domain in heathen countries only to subject them to Christ.' He thus spoke especially to silence those who, unduly prejudiced against Canada, asked what France would gain by settling it. Our kings, it is known, always spoke like Champlain on this point; and the conversion of the Indians was the chief motive which, more than once, prevented their abandoning a colony, the progress of which was so long retarded by our impatience, our inconstancy, and the blind cupidity of a few individuals. To give it a more solid foundation, it only required more respect for the suggestions of M. de Champlain, and more seasonable belief on the part of those who placed him in his position. The plan which he proposed was but too well justified by the failure of opposite maxims and conduct."

In 1880, the Reverend E. F. Slafter,[1] a Protestant

[1] Edmund Farwell Slafter was born in Norwich, Vt., on May 30th, 1816. He was graduated at Dartmouth in 1840, studied at Andover Theological Seminary, and in 1844 was ordained a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Since 1877 he has given his leisure time to historical studies. He has published, among other works, *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization,* in the series of the Prince Society (Boston, 1873). *Voyages of the Northmen to America,* edited with an introduction (1877), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain,* translated from the French by Charles Pomeroy Otis, with historical illustrations and a memoir (three volumes, 1878, 1880, 1882).

minister, gave to the American nation an appreciative description of the virtues of Champlain, from which we quote the following passage: "In completing this memoir the reader can hardly fail to be impressed, not to say disappointed, by the fact that results apparently insignificant should thus far have followed a life of able, honest, unselfish, heroic labour. The colony was still small in numbers, the acres subdued and brought into cultivation were few, and the aggregate yearly products were meagre. But it is to be observed that the productiveness of capital and labour and talent, two hundred and seventy years ago, cannot well be compared with the standards of to-day. Moreover, the results of Champlain's career are insignificant rather in appearance than in reality. The work which he did was in laying foundations, while the superstructure was to be reared in other years and by other hands. The palace or temple, by its lofty and majestic proportions, attracts the eye and gratifies the taste; but its unseen foundations, with their nicely adjusted arches, without which the superstructure would crumble to atoms, are not less the result of the profound knowledge and practical wisdom of the architect. The explorations made by Champlain early and late, the organization and planting of his colonies, the resistance of avaricious corporations, the holding of numerous savage tribes in friendly alliance, the daily administration of the affairs of the colony, of the savages, and of the corporation in

France, to the eminent satisfaction of all generous and noble-minded patrons, and this for a period of more than thirty years, are proof of an extraordinary continuation of mental and moral qualities. Without impulsiveness, his warm and tender sympathies imparted to him an unusual power and influence over other men. He was wise, modest and judicious in council, prompt, vigorous and practical in administration, simple and frugal in his mode of life, persistent and unyielding in the execution of his plans, brave and valiant in danger, unselfish, honest and conscientious in the discharge of duty. These qualities, rare in combination, were always conspicuous in Champlain, and justly entitle him to the respect and admiration of mankind."

These two quotations are sufficient to supplement the observations that we have made, and there can be no doubt that posterity will forever confirm this opinion of the life and labours of the founder of New France, and that the name of Champlain will never be obliterated from the memory of Canadians.

CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX

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1567or 1570—Birth of Samuel Champlain.

1598—Champlain makes a voyage to Spain.

1599—Joins an expedition to the West Indies.

1601—Returns from America.

1603—Goes to Canada as lieutenant of Aymar de Chastes, viceroy of New France, explores the river St. Lawrence to Sault St. Louis, and returns the same year.

1604—Follows de Monts' fortune in Acadia as geographer and historian of the expedition; lives on Ste. Croix Island and at Port Royal till the year 1607.

1608—As lieutenant of de Monts, viceroy of New France, Champlain crosses the Atlantic and founds Quebec.

1610—Champlain's expedition against the Iroquois. Leaves for France on September 5th.

1610—Champlain returns to Quebec and goes back to France the same year. His marriage with Hélène Boullé on December 30th, 1610.

1611—Champlain comes again to Quebec; founds Montreal; sails for France on July 20th. The De Monts' company ceases to exist. Comte de Soissons appointed viceroy of New France; dies soon after. The Prince de Condé takes his place and retains Champlain as his lieutenant.

1613—Champlain sails for Canada and explores the country as far as Allumette Island. Goes to France.

1615—Returns to Quebec with the Récollet Fathers; he goes as far as the Huron country; particulars of these tribes, their customs, manners, etc; Champlain assists them in a war against the Iroquois; follows them and comes back to the Huron country, where he spends the winter.

1616—Leaves for Quebec on May 20th; work of the missionaries in the meantime; meeting of the *habitants* and result of their deliberations; memorandum addressed to the king; Champlain goes to France.

1617—Champlain sails from Honfleur on April 11th for Quebec; Louis Hébert's family accompanies him.

1618—Champlain returns to France. Maréchal de Thémines appointed viceroy *per interim* after Condé's dismissal. Difficulties met by Champlain in 1617; his projects laid before the king. Champlain gains his point and preserves his former position.

1619—Condé sells his commission of viceroy to the Duke of Montmorency; Champlain's new commission of lieutenant of the viceroy. Company of Montmorency formed by the Duke of Montmorency.

1620—Champlain comes back to Quebec with his wife, and stays there till the year 1624.

1621—Champlain receives his instructions from Montmorency and from the king; entitled to help the new company of merchants:

conflict at Quebec between the agents of the old and of the new company; Champlain's firm attitude settles the matter.

1622—The Company of Montmorency rules the country.

1624—Champlain recrosses the ocean, bringing his wife.

1625—Arrival of the Jesuits. Champlain at Tadousac and at Quebec; his intercourse with the Montagnais; the duc de Ventadour named viceroy of New France; Champlain reappointed lieutenant.

1627—Ventadour resigns his office; Cardinal Richelieu organizes the Company of the Hundred Associates; privileges granted to them; Champlain still living at Quebec.

1628—Roquemont sent to Quebec with provisions; his vessels taken by Kirke; Quebec in danger; correspondence between David Kirke and Champlain; the enemy retires; distress at Quebec for the want of food.

1629—Kirke before Quebec; the capitulation; fate of the inhabitants; the missionaries return to France together with Champlain; the last events at Tadousac.

1629-32—Champlain goes to London; negotiations between France and England through the French ambassador; Champlain's visits to the king, and to Cardinal Richelieu; Charles I ready to restore Canada, with certain conditions.

1632—The Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye terminates the dispute between the two countries, and Quebec is restored to France.

1632—Arrival at Quebec of the Jesuits; history of their convent since 1626.

1633—Champlain's arrival in Quebec; history of the seminary of Notre Dame des Anges since its foundation; the Jesuits' missions at Miscou Island, in the Maritime Provinces, Acadia, Baie des Chaleurs and Cape Breton. Champlain erects a church at Quebec.

1634—Immigration of French colonists from Perche; Robert Giffard.

1635—Champlain's sickness and death; his wife founds an Ursuline convent at Meaux.

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BISHOP LAVAL

BISHOP LAVAL

From a painting in Laval University, Quebec

THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

Anniversary Edition

BISHOP LAVAL

BY

THE ABBÉ H. A. SCOTT

Illustrated under the direction of A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt.D.
Deputy Minister, Public Archives of Canada

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PREFACE

MGR. DE LAVAL has been very diversely judged. In his book *The Old Régime in Canada*, Parkman has written regarding the first bishop of North America: "He is one of those concerning whom Protestants and Catholics, at least ultramontane Catholics, will never agree in judgment."

About that short sentence, much could be said. Let it suffice to point out that to judge a man is not a matter of creed, but a matter of fact. Mgr. de Laval was the first bishop of New France. What part did he have in the organization of the Canadian Church? What did he do for the diffusion of the Gospel? for education? for the progress of the country? He had to deal with public men, governors, intendants, priests, fought sometimes against their views and their measures: was he right or wrong? In the great struggle of his life against the liquor trade, does he deserve blame or praise?

All the facts are well known. They have only to be set before the eyes of an unbiassed reader, and he can judge, let him be a Catholic, a Protestant, a Mahometan or a Jew.

But Laval belonged to an unpopular class: he was a churchman, a Catholic churchman! Be it so! Fair play must be given to any man, be he negro or Catholic churchman. Let him be judged according to his deeds.

As for his private life, his severe ascetism, his austerities, his love of utter poverty, it may be above the understanding of such as do not admit the teachings of the Gospel. But all believers will admit that such teachings have been brought into heroical practice by men like François de Laval. If, through human weakness, they feel unable to follow such a steep and thorny path, they cannot refrain from admiring such as walk in it without stumbling, and especially one who could continue steadfast until his eighty-sixth year.

The French Calvinist, Paul Sabatier is, I think, just as staunch a Protestant as any on this side of the Atlantic, and nevertheless he shows great admiration for St. François of Assisi who went much further than Bernières and his disciple, François de Laval, in his contempt of all earthly things, the disdain of all bodily comfort, all worldly pleasures.

My intention is to draw a picture of Bishop de Laval, from the cradle to the grave, just as he was. The reader will judge for himself. But let him bear simply in mind that, to appreciate justly that great man, it is necessary to measure him, not after our present ideas, but in the light of the ideas, customs, even prejudices, of his own age; and to remember that Laval was the champion of religious principles which are the groundwork of the peace and happiness of nations.

The documentation of the subject is as rich as

it is divergent. The archives of the seminary and of the bishopric of Quebec, the Jesuit *Relations*, the letters of Mother M. de l'Incarnation, the correspondence of New France with the mother country, form an imposing mass of information,—some published, but the greater part unpublished. These sources have been utilized, but not exhausted, by historians, and have given rise to as contradictory judgments as those of Garneau, Parkman, Kingsford, Lorin, on the one hand; of Latour, Ferland and Gosselin, on the other. History must undoubtedly, as far as possible, be written after contemporary documents; and I understand the pleasure of Parkman when, in Paris, he could peruse with his own eyes the numberless letters of our governors, intendants, officers, persons of all description, on the affairs of New France. But, in his enthusiasm, he has, I am afraid, forgotten, a little, a very simple rule of historical criticism;—an adversary should not be admitted without some exception or caution, as a witness, either in history or in a court of justice. If the eulogies of admirers are not to be blindly trusted, why should the imputations of detractors? The same bias has brought that author, in many ways well informed and worthy of esteem, to minimize the authority of Bertrand de Latour. But Latour, who came here in 1729 and was Dean of the Quebec Chapter, was in an excellent position to obtain first-class information. If not

an eye-witness himself, he must have known several of the contemporaries of the saintly bishop and learned his career from their lips.

This sketch intends to be fair and sincere. I will carefully examine the *sic et non* and judge the man chiefly after his works.

The life of Bishop de Laval divides naturally into three periods: the first from his birth, in 1622 or 1623, to his election as vicar-apostolic of New France in 1658; the second, to the end of his administration of the Church of New France in 1688;[1] the third, from his resignation until his death in 1708. Although almost equal in years, yet it is clear that, of the three, the second is the most important and offers the greatest interest to lovers of Canadian history. It shall in consequence receive a larger development and, while the deeds of a labourious youth, of peaceful and saintly old age, are not forgotten, the greatest part of the sketch shall consider the man in the full exercise of all his powers, the prominent part he played, not only in Church affairs properly, but in education and even in the temporal progress of this country.

Honesty compels me to confess that the materials thereof are not of my invention, but borrowed from earlier biographers, chiefly from the first, Bertrand de Latour, and the last, the Abbé Gosselin.

[1] In fact he resigned in 1684 but, as his successor was not consecrated before 1688, he retained his office till that date.

Of the latter we have several works: *Vie de Mgr. de Laval*, in two volumes, published in 1890. An abridged edition was published in 1901, in which a number of errors of the former were corrected. To these, must be added his interesting books: *Au pays de Mgr. de Laval*, 1910; *Henri de Bernières*, 1902; *L'Eglise du Canada, depuis Mgr. de Laval jusqu'a la conquête*, 1st part, 1911; 2nd part, 1912.

Latour's *Mémoires sur la Vie de Mgr. de Laval, premier evêque de Québec*, are a rarity. One small volume only was published at Cologne (Köln) in 1761, and goes no further than 1694. A second volume has been found there in manuscript and will very likely be published. I used the copy in the library of Laval University.

Besides these and the historians already mentioned I am indebted for valuable information to the following works: Father de Rochemonteix: *Les Jesuits et la Nouvelle-France* and *Un collége de Jesuites aux XVII and XVIII siècles, le collége de La Flèche; The Mandements* of the bishops of Quebec; The *Relations and Journal of the Jesuits*, Burrows edition; *History of the Ursulines of Quebec; Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation*, Richaudeau edition; Abbé Faillon: *Histoire de la Colonie Française; Vie de M. Olier*, and *Vie de Marguerite Bourgeoys;* Mgr. Têtu: *Les Evêques de Québec*, and *Le Palais Episcopal de Québec;* Mgr. Amédée Gosselin, ex-Rector of Laval University: *L'Instruc-*

tion au Canada sous le Régime Français; Sénateur Thomas Chapais: *L'Intendant Talon;* Henri Lorin: *Le Comte de Frontenac;* the "Monthly Review:" *Le Canada-Français*, May, 1923, and May, 1925; the booklet: *Troisième Centenaire de Mgr. de Montmorency-Laval*, Mamers, France, 1924; *Jugements du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France; Les Edicts et Ordonnances Royaux*, Quebec, 1854; Raymond du Bois Cahall: *The Sovereign Council of New-France*, New York, 1915; the Canadian Archives; Chrestien Leclercq: *Premier Etablissement de la Foy;* Hennepin: *A New Discovery*, Thwaites' edition, 1903; Joutel: *La Salle's last Voyage*, 1684-1687, Henry Reed Stiles' edition (McDonough, 1906); R. P. Lecompte, S. J.: *Les anciennes Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France*, Montréal, 1925; Adrien Leblond: *Vie de Melle Mance*, 1883.

But it is just to acknowledge that my chief sources have been the works of the learned Abbé Auguste Gosselin. His life of Mgr. de Laval contains invaluable information drawn from the archives of the seminary and of the bishopric of Quebec to which he had free admittance. I frequently borrow from him, but not blindly, and I carefully weigh, and sometimes correct, his judgments with the help of other historians.

The sketch, for brevity's sake, has few foot-note references. Notes have been added only when required to make the text more clear.

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CHAPTER I

BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY

MONTIGNY is a French commune of about five hundred souls scattered in more than a dozen of small hamlets.[1] It is situated in the canton of Brezolles, north-west corner of the department of Eure-et-Loire, on the river Avre. Hence its name of *Montigny-sur-Aure*.[2] This charming little river, flowing towards the east from the heights of the Orne department, marks the limits between the Eure and Eure-et-Loire departments and joins the Eure, itself a tributary of the Seine, three or four miles north of Evreux.

The territory of the department, formed of parts of the ancient provinces of Maine and Perche, south of Normandy, seems to show in its aspect the difference of its double origin. To the south stretches as far as eyes can see the great plain of Beauce, low, monotonous, with only long and hardly perceptible undulations, the region of France most lacking natural beauty: no rivers, no valleys, almost no trees, and yet, with all that, a soil of the greatest fertility, the true granary of the nation when rain is not too scarce. In the north,

[1] Fifteen in fact. See Abbé Gosselin: *The Ven. Frs. de Laval*, etc, abridged edition, 1901, p. 23. Note.

[2] To distinguish it from other places of the same name.

on the contrary, and chiefly in the western part formerly belonging to Perche, are highlands: vales, streams, rich meadows, fine hedges, clusters of trees and even forests, unhappily getting thinner every day, diversify and embellish a picturesque landscape. Its situation in a north-western region saved it, in 1914-1918, from the German ravages, but, in the fourteenth century, when war was raging between England and France, it was exposed to be trampled down by soldiery, the banners of chivalry frequently waved over its valleys, and its woods resounded with the warlike blast of trumpets. For that reason, the tops of hills were often crowned by strongholds. One of these Middle Age structures, the castle of Montuel, still exists, with its towers and turrets pretty well preserved, but the battlements around it are decayed and the ditches are filled up. It stands in front of the modern mansion of the Duke of Richelieu, minister of King Louis XVIII, on a woody height overlooking the Avre. The statue of a Knight Templar, over one of the openings of the second story, shows that it formerly belonged to, and was likely built by, that famous order. After the condemnation of the Templars (1312) and the confiscation of their properties, Montuel became the lot of the Order of Malta and fell, in the sixteenth century, through an alliance with the Mézieres family, into the hands of the ancestors of François de Laval.

The chief occupation of the inhabitants of

Montigny-sur-Avre being agriculture, it is unnecessary to state that life there is most peaceful and that social events of mark very seldom happen to break its quiet uniformity. But, on the 5th of July, 1923, something grand and quite unusual was certainly taking place. Triumphal arches had been erected, flags waved in the wind, houses were adorned, peasants in their festival dress, tradesmen and independent gentlemen, distinguished citizens from the Church and State, from France and Canada, had gathered in the generally quiet and unfrequented village. The French government was represented by the minister of the interior, M. Maunoury, in the name of the prime minister, Poincaré; the French University, by M. Maigron, president of the University of Caen; the French Academy, by Mgr. Baudrillart; Canada, by its high commissioner in Paris, M. Philippe Roy; Quebec and Montreal universities, by some of their professors. Besides several bishops, vicars-general, French deputies and representatives of the Society of Jesus and of the Seminaries of St. Sulpice and of the Foreign Missions, there were also present the Marquess of Lévis, the Count of Lévis-Mirepoix, and the Viscount of La Varende, a relative of the Montmorency family.

The object of the celebration, in fact, was to commemorate the three-hundredth birthday of an illustrious son of Montigny-sur-Avre, François de Montmorency-Laval, first bishop of Quebec.

Carefully prepared on both sides of the Atlantic, the success even passed the hopes of the organizers. His grace the bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese is Montigny, had, in June, 1923, published an interesting pastoral letter on the career of the great missionary-bishop, and funds had been generously contributed by Old France and Canada for the erection of a monument to his venerable memory.

The day was divided into a civic and religious manifestation. The former took place at the castle of Montigny, the seat, in the seventeenth century, of the Lavals, but now the property of M. Cauchy, mayor of the commune. The lordly building is a fine structure of the Renaissance style, rebuilt, or at least enlarged after the plans of Mansard, in the last part of the seventeenth century, by Jean-Louis, brother of Mgr. de Laval. The cost had very likely exceeded the means of the owner, because, after his death in 1708, his son had to sell not only the beautiful mansion, but all the land of Montigny, and to retire in 1720 to his humble property of Montbaudry, where he died the next year, a proof once more of a frequently repeated and no less frequently forgotten truth that it is better to live under a modest roof with an income, than, without it under golden ceilings.

The castle is on the bank of the river, the wall of its right aisle even dipping in the waters which run through the park. On the smooth lawn

bordered by lofty trees, in the front of the main entrance, a large tent sheltered from the ardent rays of a July sun one hundred and seventy joyful guests.

"Rien ne manquait au festin,"[1] and nothing happened to interrupt the rejoicing, save, now and then, an oration that only increased it. Several orators, laymen and ecclesiastics, rose in turn to tell the glories of New France and its first bishop.

At three in the afternoon, the religious function took place. The small church that witnessed it is of ancient make, as is shown by its dedication to St. Martin, but has lost by successive repairs all antique character, and, with the exception of its old stained-glass windows, offers to the visitor nothing of great interest. There, however, was christened François de Laval; there he prayed when a child; there his parents, the lords of Montigny, had their seigniorial pew; there they have been laid to their last repose. The local archives testify it and an inscription on the walls recalls their names. The modest temple was therefore well worthy of some attention. As it was too small to contain the audience of the day, a tent had been added at the front door. The chief object of the ceremony was the dedication of a monument to recall that New France had received from the mother country her saintly apostle. The monument is of a very simple, although very impressive,

[1] "Nothing was lacking in the banquet."

design which purposely reproduces the hieratic stiffness of mediæval statues. It is of gray stone and tinted stucco, containing in its upper part a group in high relief of almost natural size, directly sculptured from the stone and discreetly coloured.[1] It personifies Old France offering to New France her son François de Laval, in presence of the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary and Joseph, placed in the background. The lower half is filled by an inscription with the coats of arms of the province of Quebec and of the Montmorency family. An eloquent address having been delivered by Mgr. Beaupin, P.D., Mgr. de Guébriant, superior of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, blessed the monument and gave the benediction.

The brilliant feast of Montigny was over, short as all human rejoicings. The 5th July had been chosen not because it was properly the birthday of Mgr. de Laval, as we shall presently see, but on account of delays unavoidable in such solemnizations and also for the beauty of the season. But was even 1923 the true tercentenary? The question is worth at least a short discussion, as there is a large gap in the records of Montigny precisely at that epoch, from 1601 to 1627. Bertrand de Latour, the first biographer of Mgr. de

[1] The work of the French artists Henri Charlier, a sculptor, and Maurice Storez, an architect. Another monument in low relief, by the same, was placed, some time after, in the Church of St. Germain-des-Prés, and represents Frs. de Laval receiving the episcopal consecration in 1658.

Laval, gives for his birthday the 30th of April, 1623. It is the traditional date kept, from the beginning, in the Seminary of Quebec, and generally given by other biographers. But it is to be noted that the *Gallia Christiana* gives another date, that is to say, 1622. That great work on the clergy of France cannot be ignored. Its authors, the Sainte-Marthe twin brothers, were men of learning and historiographers of France. An edition in four volumes appeared as early as 1656. But Denis of St. Marthe, a relative of the former editors, a Benedictine, who even became superior-general of his order, gave, between 1715 and 1728, another edition entirely revised and completed. We have there contemporary witnesses of exceptional value who had means of information now unfortunately lost.

The last biographer of Mgr. de Laval, the Abbé Gosselin, in his large work in two volumes (1890) adopted a *via media*, taking from the *Gallia Christiana* the year 1622, and from Latour the 30th of April, but in his abridged work (1901) he adhered completely to Latour. Was the choice a good one? That is a debatable question. The reasons he gave first for preferring the year 1622 keep their strength. For instance, in the usual canonical investigation which took place in 1657 before the elevation of François de Laval to episcopacy, the witnesses assert that he is thirty-five years old and a priest for ten years.

He was therefore ordained in 1647, and this is the correct date, since his golden jubilee of priesthood was celebrated in Quebec in 1697. But, as he was thirty-five in 1657, he must have been born in 1622, the universal use being that a year is added to one's age only when it is completed. Let the same thing be said of the inscription on the lead coffin that was found in 1877 in the Quebec basilica. It bears, for the age of the bishop, "*octogesimo sexto*," which also, his death having happened on the 6th of May, 1708, brings us back to 1622. It is true that the word *sexto*, with the exception of the last letter, is not of the same beautiful writing as the rest of the inscription, and that the sheet of lead bears signs of a correction. But the correction was made by a contemporary hand, as the coffin was found for the first time in 1877.

Add to this that in 1696, answering Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, who implored his aid in order that his return to New France be allowed, Mgr. de Laval, wishing to edulcorate and in the meantime to justify a piece of advice to his troublesome successor, refers to his own age, "being," he says, "seventy-five years of age." This also cannot agree with 1623. To counter-balance such good reasons, we have the seminary tradition and the assertion of the Abbé de La Colombière, in the funeral oration of François de Laval, that he was ordained a priest at the age of twenty-four years and one

day. But from this nothing can be concluded about the 30th of April, as we have no record of the ordination. However, if it really took place in 1647, the birth could not be put farther back than 1623.

Be this as it may, born in 1622 or 1623, in the castle of Montuel, mentioned above, which was at that period a truly seigniorial mansion, or in that of Montigny before its restoration, François de Laval belonged to that most ancient and most noble family of Montmorency, which gave to France, in Church and State, so many illustrious men. One Montmorency, was, after king Clovis, the first Frank chieftain who got into the baptismal font of Reims. Hence his name of First Christian Baron and his motto: *Dieu ayde au premier Baron chretien.*[1] The coat of arms of the Montmorencies is a shield of gold quartered by a cross of gules with sixteen azure allerions. There were formerly only four, but, at the battle of Bouvines (1214), Matthew de Montmorency, second of the name, having conquered twelve banners from the troops of the Emperor Otto and his allies, added twelve allerions to his escutcheon, four in each quarter. The Lavals have kept that same coat-of-arms, adding, to distinguish themselves from the elder branch, five shells of argent upon the cross.

They acknowledge as head of their house Matthew de Montmorency, surnamed the Great, Lord High Constable of France, that is to say command-

[1] "God help the First Christian Baron."

er-in-chief of all French armies, who died in 1230, himself an issue of one Bouchard of Montmorency who lived about the middle of the tenth century. By a first marriage with Gèneviève de Soissons, he begot Bouchard de Montmorency, who was the head of the elder branch of the family. A widower, he contracted another alliance with Emme, only daughter of the Earl Guy de Laval, with the agreement that the offspring would bear the name de Laval. Thence came the younger branch of the Montmorencies, from which descended François de Laval. The Lavals were no less ancient and noble than the Montmorencies. Guy, first baron of the name, lived under the sons of Charlemagne; his grandson, by wedding Denyse de Mortain, a niece of William the Conqueror, became father of another Guy de Laval who married with Emme, natural sister of Henry II, and, on that double account, became allied to the royal house of England.

The Laval branch of the Montmorencies gave birth to several scions, all of which, at least the male descent, are now extinct, but continue, by the women, in the families de Lévis-Mirepoix, de Couronnel and de Pimodan. Some Montmorencies have played a prominent part in statesmanship as late as the French Restoration.

It is to be remarked that Mgr. de Laval never took the name of Montmorency He never signed otherwise than François de Laval. His father was

Hugues, owner of the seigniories of Montigny, Montbaudry, Alaincourt and Revercourt. His mother, Michelle de Péricard, although she could not boast of such an illustrious ancestry, yet belonged also to the nobility, being of an ennobled family of magistrates who held important positions in the Norman parliament. Her father, Nicholas de Péricard, owned the seigniory of Saint-Étienne in Normandy. Two of her brothers were bishops, one of Avranches and the other of Evreux. The latter had a happy influence on his nephew's career. From the union, in 1617, of Hugues de Laval with Michelle de Péricard, eight children issued, six boys and two girls. The youngest girl, born after her father's demise (1636), died in prime infancy. Her sister became a nun. One of the boys, Hugues, unhappily died when only eleven years of age (1642). With the rest, we shall soon become acquainted through the history of their brother François, first bishop of Quebec.

CHAPTER II

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

VERY little is known of François' infancy. But as, in 1657, the witnesses in the canonical information for his election to episcopacy testify to the deep religious feelings and Christian life of his parents, it is natural to infer that his early years were spent in an atmosphere of true piety. As a third-born son he found himself in a most awkward position. That epoch, looked on as a golden age, was, as this sketch shall occasionally show, full of abuses which our times would consider unbearable. One was that in families of high rank, from royalty to simple gentry, young men and women had not to choose, but to undergo, their station in life. Thus Henrietta Maria of France, sixteen years old, was sent as a wife to Charles I of England, a monarch little worthy of sympathy but for the treatment he received at the hands of Cromwell and his followers; or, worse yet, as the merry and graceful Louise of Orleans, given to the sickly and capricious Charles II of Spain: both to bear queenly crowns in which the brilliancy of precious stones could hide, but not blunt, the sharpness of thorns. In the nobility, titles and properties went to the eldest son; his brothers had to make their way through life, mostly in the profession of arms.

Happy the cadet when his father's wealth or influence could buy or obtain him a company or a regiment! Marriages were formed, not between persons but between fortunes and dignities; children were sometimes betrothed in their cradles. A young lady with all the accomplishments of her sex, if she had not substantial dowry, had either to marry beneath her rank, or to choose between the undesired lot of single life, and the no more attractive convent seclusion. For, the Church was there to open her motherly arms to portionless girls and noble young men deprived of inheritance; abbeys and bishoprics were their appanages. Nevertheless as the children that were not destined to worldly attainments received a careful education, and were, according to the expression in use, "brought up for the Church," by their distinguished manners, the brightness of their names, their natural fitness to manage men, if not by their science and their sanctity, they generally made quite a good figure when called upon to rule an abbey or a bishopric.

What increased the evil was that the king of France, after the concordat of 1516 between Leo X and François I, had the right of nomination to ecclesiastical benefices. It is true that he was bound to choose only such as had proper requirements, that without the Pope's consent all nominations were void, that after a serious investigation or information on the abilities and morals of candid-

ates, canonical institution could always be denied to the unworthy. It could not be refused to those that were not decidedly so, and the choice remained with the king. Therefore favour or intrigue, much more than merit, often played a part in nominations. Hence came the plague of court bishops and abbots. If, for the former it was necessary to have received holy orders, for the latter it was not: frequently abbeys were conferred in *commendam*, as they called it, on laymen who, wearing the name of abbots, lavished revenues of a sacred origin on a mode of living, which had but a far-distant likeness with that of the Fathers of the Desert. Let it be added that the king, by the so-called *Right of Régale*, claimed the income of vacant sees until a new titular was named, and we shall have an idea of the liberties of the Gallican Church. She had sparingly measured her allegiance to her natural superior, the successor of Peter, only to fall into the stringent bonds of royal slavery. These notions will help the reader to understand the continual and annoying meddling of civil officials in Church affairs and the clash that, of necessity, too often arose therefrom.

François de Laval, having two elder brothers, was therefore, according to the custom mentioned above, brought up for the Church, as well as his younger brother Henry, who, later on, became a Benedictine monk and even superior of the monastery of La Croix-Saint-Leuffroy.

While still aged only eight or nine, he was sent in 1631, to the Royal College of La Flèche, one of the most renowned in France at that epoch. It is fitting, and it may be found of interest, to cast a glance at that little city, and at the college where our first bishop spent ten years of his life, ten of those years of youth in which a man not only acquires instruction, but receives that training which prepares him for future action and moulds his character.

La Flèche is now a town of about ten thousand inhabitants. But, in spite of its antiquity, it was, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, little more than a simple borough of the old province of Anjou, now partly the Sarthe department, close, on the south-west, to that of Eure-et-Loire, where is Montigny. The distance between the two localities is some eighty miles. It lies on the north bank of the river Loir, a tributary of the Loire, running westward, in an agreeable vale surrounded by hills covered with vineyards and clumps of trees. Its fate, in the course of years, has frequently varied. Owned formerly by the House of Anjou, and plundered by the English in the fourteenth century, it became afterwards a property of the Duke of Alençon and finally fell to the lot of the family of Bourbon.

There, in a castle built in 1541 by the Duchess of Alençon and called the Château-Neuf, Antoine of Bourbon married Jeanne of Albret, daughter of

the King of Navarre. That is the reason why their son, Henry IV, had such a fondness for the quiet little place. He was not born there, but as his parents had left only a short time before his birth, he always considered it as his first home. A part of his infancy and of his youth was spent there, and an old plan of the college of La Flèche shows a hill where, when a boy, he used to play at town-taking. In later years he went there to refresh himself from the fatigues of war.

For that same reason, when the great monarch thought of founding a university that would vie with the most celebrated, not only in France, but in Europe, he chose La Flèche for its seat.

He entrusted the institution to the Jesuits. He had at first had a dislike for the order and approved of its expulsion from France by the parliament in 1594, after the criminal attempt on himself by Jean Châtel; but, at the request of Pope Clement VIII, he had recalled them in 1603 and they soon became his favourites.

The views of the king were grand and truly royal. Buildings to contain several hundred students were to be erected at the cost of the public treasury. On account of the sad end of that goodly prince in 1610, they were not all erected in his lifetime, but were continued under his son Louis XIII, and cost more than three hundred thousand livres, an enormous sum for that time.

They form an immense square, the best idea

of which is conveyed by a gridiron, as the Escurial: long, narrow, high and steep-roofed structures crossed, at each end, at right angles, by other structures, enclose five large quadrangular yards for the use of the fathers, the pupils and their numerous servants. The most remarkable of the buildings are the Château-Neuf, on the north, which was the nucleus of the college, and next to it, on the west side, the library and the large and stately hall called *Salle des Actes*, where took place public discussions, distributions of prizes, dramatic performances and other solemn functions of college life. Facing the Château, at the other end of the Royal, or Fathers' yard, is the main entrance, on whose left, opposite to the *Salle des Actes*, stands the college church, dedicated to St. Louis, a magnificent Renaissance edifice, still admired.

In that church, finished only some years after François de Laval came to La Flèche, were to be deposed, according to the edict of foundation, the hearts of the founder, Henry IV, and of his second wife, Mary de Medicis. And so they were. But during the French Revolution, the heart of the most popular of the kings of France could find no grace with the so-called patriots. In one of these scenes of savagery, so frequent then, it was burnt on the public place. A faithful royalist, however, having secretly and piously gathered the ashes, they were, under the Restoration, returned to the

church in a gilt lead box in the form of a heart, which is still to be seen there.

To the north of the college stretched a large park and gardens, to which access was obtained by a couple of drawbridges over the city ditches which skirted the buildings on that side. The park is still there, adorned with an equestrian bronze statue of Henry IV by Bonassieu. So is the famous college. But it no more resounds with the learned lectures of professors on Homer or Virgil, nor with the subtle disputes of scholastic philosophy. Since 1764, after the unjust expulsion of the Jesuits by Choiseul, the immense building has been transformed into a military school where five hundred young men—eight hundred could be admitted—are taught the dangerous, though necessary, science of war.

That boisterous class of students make the little town quite noisy. But in the days that we recount, no place could be better chosen for a college. Several religious communities, canons of St. Augustine, Récollets, Carmelite friars, had convents there; and, on the other hand, as there was no commerce and no industry, it was truly an ideal nook for prayer and study.

In his edict of foundation Henry IV expressed his will and intentions. In the new institution, all the classical subjects and sciences were to be taught as in the greatest colleges and universities of the Company of Jesus: that is to say, Grammar

and the Humanities, Rhetoric, History, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other oriental languages, Philosophy, Logic, Ethics, Physics and Metaphysics, Casuistry and Holy Scripture. The course of studies was for ten years, seven for Grammar and Humanities, three for Philosophy, Physics and Mathematics. Theology required four years more.

In his desire to equal and even to surpass other universities, the king would have added Medicine and Law. But according to a rule made by St. Ignatius, these could not be admitted in the Jesuits' colleges unless they were taught by other professors than the members of the order. Henry IV yielded to that reason and these branches of learning were not part of the course in La Flèche. However, as a great number of the pupils belonged to noble families, dancing, fencing and other accomplishments found their place in the lessons, and were not likely, at least dancing and fencing, taught by the reverend fathers.

Such was the place chosen for the education of François de Laval. Although still at a very tender age he was not to leave it until the end of his studies. At that epoch, in convents or colleges, half of the year was not, as at present, lost in holidays and vacations. Vacations were short and spent, not at home, but in the educational institution. The Jesuits of La Flèche possessed a priory in a small hamlet called Suëtte, about eighteen miles distant. There, each summer, the students

under the supervision of one of their masters, by groups of eighteen or twenty, went to enjoy themselves for about a week. The trip was made on horseback and, for a fare of twenty-five cents a day, with little extras for horses and servants, the youths had excellent entertainment. Ordinary holidays were spent in hunting, angling, swimming, or in long excursions through the fields, with great danger for the orchards, that the roving band might happen to come near. Some who preferred intellectual pleasures, could, reclining on the grassy shore of the Loir, in the shade of some majestic elm, relish Greek or Latin poets and orators, Homer or Virgil, Cicero or Demosthenes.

Days were filled to the brim. Rising at five, the boarders, who all wore a robe with a belt, had every hour and quarter of hour marked up by the daily code for something, until nine at night, the time of rest. Nine was the fixed hour for retirement, but, if we are to believe Gresset,[1] himself a teacher at La Flèche, the rule was not without an occasional breach. With those that could afford to have a room, as the wealthiest did, the tallow candle, in spite of severe supervision, kept up its smoky light and spread its nasty odour sometimes until after midnight. But it was no easy trick, as the pupils were, day and night, under continual guardianship. Under the vigilant eye of a master

[1] The famous poet, author of Vert-Vert, who afterwards left the order.

of discipline, they had to pass, in silence and demure order, from study-room to class, from refectory to the playing-ground, chapel, dormitory, or any other place marked by the rule. They had no intercourse whatever, even in class, with day-scholars, and were not allowed promenades in town save in the company of a supervisor. With the exception of short recreations, they were obliged to speak Latin. Study and class took the greatest part of the time. Nevertheless, in spite of such severe regulation, the Jesuits, by occasional feasts, public disputes, praise and prizes opportunely granted, but chiefly by their kindness and devotedness to their pupils, rendered that life not only acceptable but even agreeable. No wonder that with such a discipline and such employment of time, under skilful teachers, young men who were not deprived of intellectual power, could acquire, in literature, ancient languages, philosophy and sciences, that uncommon knowledge which is to be admired in the educated men of that age. Even laymen, such as the Prince de Condé or our own Talon, could pertinently take part in philosophical disputes and argue in Latin with a surprising skill. Descartes, who had been for eight or nine years a student at La Flèche, confessed that there he had imbibed all the principles of science he afterwards developed by personal research.

The professors of François de Laval from 1631 to 1641 are all known. Three have a name in the

history of the seventeenth century: Jean de la Barre, who taught him humanities, became a renowned preacher; his professor of physics and mathematics, Jean de Brienne, left treatises on *Light* and *Algebra*, the fruit of forty years of teaching, and remarkable for the time. The most celebrated was his professor of rhetoric, François Vavasseur, a distinguished poet and literary critic, who, according to the reliable testimony of such a foe of the Jesuits as Sainte-Beuve, "found to bite at the best works and left no fault unnoticed."

As the bishop showed in after life a clear mind, a firm will, unflinching in face of duty, we can, in absence of all particulars, assert, without fear of error, that the young man profited by so good a guidance and that, as Latour says, he made at La Flèche "brilliant studies;" or, with Mgr. Servien, bishop of Bayeux, that "he was clever in sciences human and divine."

But what is knowledge without righteousness? What is forming the intelligence without training the will? What is the most learned man worth if, with a mind brilliantly adorned, he is deprived of moral principles, of firmness, has no mastership upon himself? In education, to form the heart is of much greater consequence than to cultivate the intelligence.

François de Laval, brought up by religious parents, initiated to piety by a truly Christian mother, had already a good training when he

entered the college of Henry IV. But he was merely a child and impressions received from his family could not be very deep. Consequently, for that intensity of spiritual life which it is impossible not to admire in him, he was chiefly indebted to his masters of La Flèche. He acknowledges it himself in a letter written to the superior of the Company, Father Nickel, in 1659.

"God alone," said he, "who tries the reins and the heart, knows what a great obligation I have to your Company who warmed me when I was a child, who fostered my youth with her beneficial doctrine and never ceased to encourage and lead me. . . . I pray you not to see in this expression of my feelings of gratitude, the simple fulfilment of a duty of decency; it is from the depths of my heart that I speak; I feel that it is impossible for me to offer worthy thanksgiving to men who taught me the love of God and have been my guides in the way of salvation and of Christian virtues."

The Jesuits were at that epoch, as nowadays, renowned educators. In their colleges, if intelligence was carefully developed, the heart of the pupils was the object of a yet greater attention. One of the means to increase their piety was an association in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and called the Congregation. Father Pierre Meslant became its director in 1634, succeeding Father Bagot, who had been sent to the college of Cler-

mont in Paris. He was greatly esteemed by his superiors for his knowledge and love of Christian perfection. Of a bright and also penetrating intellect, he would have become a glory to his order had he not died at the early age of forty-two. François de Laval remained five years under his able and fatherly direction. The Jesuit had acknowledged in the child, under an exterior of slender attractiveness, a rich nature, upright, firm and noble, and had conceived for him a saintly affection. He it was that prepared him for his first communion, which, according to the use in France of postponing that important act until the age of twelve and even later, must have taken place during that period (1634-1639). He admitted him into the Congregation, into which could enter only the students of the superior classes, from belles-lettres inclusively and above, with such of the third class as were distinguished by their piety and their conduct.

Father Pinthereau, the famous controversialist and decided adversary of the Jansenists, took, after Fr. Meslant, spiritual charge of François de Laval. Under such pious direction, the soul of the young man was enriched with these deep principles of faith, these feelings of tender piety and charity which, to the end of his life, never failed. In the canonical information for episcopacy, mentioned above, one of the witnesses, the Abbé de Blampignon, testified that François de Laval was known

to all for his ardent devotion and his assiduity to receive the Sacraments. Another contemporary, Mother Juchereau de St. Ignace, in her interesting Annals of the Quebec Hôtel Dieu, could write that "from his infancy he had learned and practised Christian perfection." Such were the years passed at La Flèche, presage and promise of an active and fruitful life.

CHAPTER III

TEN YEARS OF RELIGIOUS GROWTH

DURING these college years he had an opportunity of knowing several men intimately connected with the history of New France. His masters of discipline were Pierre Pijart and Gabriel Lalemant, both in later years missionaries among Indians of New France, and the latter the heroic companion of Jean de Brébeuf in the awful tragedy of March, 1649. Among the students in Philosophy or Theology in those years were to be found René de Gamache, benefactor of the Quebec college, Claude D'Ablon, Jacques de la Place, Simon Le Moyne, and others who all afterwards became hunters of souls through the Canadian wilderness.

Events that made a diversion from the monotony of daily life were very few. In 1637, took place with great solemnity the consecration of the college church by Claude de Rueil, Bishop of Angers. But, a year before, a thing of great consequence had befallen François de Laval. On the 16th of September, 1636, his father had died at the premature age of forty-six. It does not appear that the wealth of Hugues de Laval was ever equal to his rank: the income of his four little seigniories

must have been hardly sufficient to support a family of seven children, almost all still of school age. It is clear that, although his wife was a woman of strong mind and will, the loss of his guidance threw the family into narrow and perplexing circumstances. But the bishop of Evreux, François de Péricard, came forward with happy assistance to his sister and nephews. He conferred on the student of La Flèche a canonry in his Chapter from the revenue of the bishopric's seal.[1]

François de Laval was named canon of Evreux on the 25th of September, 1637, and took possession of his stall on the 23rd of November following. He was then in Rhetoric and aged about fourteen. Two years later, on the 24th of December, 1639, being a student of Physics, he exchanged that prebend for another of better income. The Chapter of Evreux was richly endowed,—owner, among other properties, of the barony of Angerville, on whose revenue it was originally established. From that old foundation was drawn the new prebend.

That ecclesiastical benefices, which ought to have been the reward of merit or the help of old age after long services, should in that way become the lot of young men without any other title than favour or relationship, was one of these abuses mentioned above. But it was so common that it caused no astonishment and roused no discontent save perhaps in such as might think themselves

[1] That is to say, fees of chancery.

frustrated of a deserved and desired position. On that account among others, Church history is not always edifying. Such is the fate of things divine handled by human beings, and it shall be so until a time comes, very far indeed in the future, when men, like angels, shall be devoid of vanity, of ambition and of greediness. In the present case, however, as for Jean de Medecis, the future Leo X, who became a cardinal at the age of thirteen, or for St. Charles Borromeo, a cardinal at twenty-three, and who lavished among the poor the income of the several benefices bestowed upon him by his uncle, Pope Pius IV, a measure very little praiseworthy and even clearly reprehensible, produced a good result. It allowed François de Laval to carry to a successful end his studies of physics and philosophy at La Flèche, and enabled him to go, for his theology, to the celebrated college of Clermont in Paris. Another attenuation lies in the fact that being truly a clerk, with the exception of his young age, he possessed real qualification for a benefice.[1] Brought up for the Church, as it has been previously said, he had received, at his very admission in the college of La Flèche, the ecclesi-

[1] He was about fourteen or fifteen, and a benefice can be, in strictness, validly conferred at the early age of fourteen, if not joined with a charge of souls. If attached to the orders of subdeacon, deacon, or priest, the age required for these is also required for the dignity, that is to say twenty-one, twenty-two and twenty-four. See Ferraris: *Prompta Bibliotheca.* Francfort, 1781, vol. ii. pp. 32, ss; also the Council of Trent. Sess xviii, ch., vi, & Sess xxiv, ch., xii, *De Reformatione.*

astical tonsure, which, although not properly a sacred order, yet made him a true member of the clergy and conferred on him the two chief privileges thereof: first, to be qualified for ecclesiastical benefices; and, secondly, to be free from civil judges and amenable only to Church tribunals.

The College of Clermont, where François de Laval went in 1641 to study theology, had been reopened by Louis XIII in 1618. During his lifetime Henry IV, in spite of his good will for the Jesuits, and of their entreaties, had always refused to do so, for fear that its fame might hinder the prosperity of his dear foundation of La Flèche. Clermont, called, in after years, Louis-le-Grand, numbered in 1641 more than two thousand students, and, among the boarders were to be found the most illustrious names of France. Life there was on a much more luxurious footing than at La Flèche. A great number of lackeys, servants, tutors, followed the young noblemen, their masters, educated in the house. François de Laval took his quarters with the students of theology, among whom were sons of the highest families, who did not scorn to search the most abstruse questions in St. Thomas Aquinas.

The superior was Father Hayneufve, author of esteemed ascetic works, and among the professors were some of the most famous men that the Society of Jesus ever gave to ecclesiastical science, such as Jacques Sirmond, Philippe Labbe and chiefly

Denis Petau.[1] With that deep sense of duty, which he kept through his whole life, the virtuous young man earnestly applied himself to profit by such learned lessons and his efforts were answered by success. But, as at La Flèche, in his soul, piety vied with science, or even had the first place; he became one of the most fervent members of the Congregation of the boarders, and acquainted with several pious young men who became his friends for life.

During his studies in the college of Henry IV, there is no document to show that he ever went, even for a short stay, to Montigny. But from 1641 to 1645, his name appears several times in the parish registers. He very likely spent his vacations in his family's castle and was often invited by the peasants to stand as godfather at their children's christenings, a charge which he seems to have willingly accepted. His presence was, besides, a help to his mother in the management of her affairs, and soon became a necessary consolation in the cruel losses that the noble lady, during these same years, had successively to undergo. In 1642, her youngest son, Hugues, died far from home, at the early age of eleven, and on the 4th of September was laid with his fathers in the Church of Montigny. Painful as that unexpected death was for a mother's heart, in the near future there was in

[1] Author of the celebrated work *Dogmata Theologica*. How these men managed to write the numberless folios they published is a wonder.

store for the sorrowing widow trials much greater and of more woeful consequence.

If the earthly wealth of the Lavals of Montigny was not equal to their nobleness of blood, the chivalrous spirit of the ancestors had been kept unimpaired. The two eldest sons had embraced the profession of arms and were fighting under the Prince of Condé. One was killed while contributing by his bravery to the victory of Fribourg, on the 3rd of August, 1644, and the other met with the same glorious fate, on the same day, a year later, in doing his manly duty in the victorious battle of Nördlingen.

While the heart of his mother was bleeding under such repeated blows, François de Laval had her sorrow added to his own as a tender son and a loving brother. These sad events brought, besides, a great change in his social position and threatened to change the course of his life.

From a third-born son he became the eldest, heir to the titles and properties of his family. He had been destined for the Church when he was too young to determine for himself and when there was almost no other path to a decent future life. But now another path was opened, if not of the brightest, at least honourable and easy; he was a little above twenty, and could choose. What the counsels of human wisdom were, what the perplexity of the young man may have been, is easy to guess.

He had no definite engagement with the Church, as he had not yet received any of the sacred orders. He belonged to the clergy simply by the tonsure; he was therefore free to return to secular life. Even his uncle, the bishop of Evreux, advised and entreated him to give up all ecclesiastical aims, to take in hand, according to the call of duty, his family interests and to maintain by an honourable marriage the noble name of his ancestors. Every thing contributed to enforce that advice on the mind of a young man of twenty-two or twenty-three: the friendly disposition, the experience and sacred character of him who gave it, the enticing perspective, so powerful on any man's heart, of a happy existence in the paternal home, while priesthood, besides severing him from the sweet family joys, offered nothing but an uncertain future, a life of poverty, perhaps, and surely of self-denial.

Without bidding a final farewell to his former design of consecrating himself to God, François yielded at least partly to his uncle's counsels and spent at Montigny the last months of 1645 and part of 1646. He applied his clear and active mind to the management of his patrimony. But the bishop of Evreux in July, 1646, was unexpectedly stricken by a deadly ailment. To form a just idea of human greatness and happiness, there is no better place than a death bed: on the grave's brink, earthly honours, and wealth and pleasures

are stripped of all their deceitful brilliancy. The prelate bitterly regretted his efforts to divert his nephew from a calling that in men's estimation might look devoid of advantages, but was full of merits in the eyes of God. He retracted his too terrestrial counsels and was greatly consoled when he heard from the lips of François that the young man had no intention of renouncing the saintly career for which he had prepared himself from childhood, but would remain in the world only as long as required to set the affairs of his family on a good footing. The bishop of Evreux died on the 22nd of July, and, in the fall of 1646, François, to the great joy of his masters and his friends, who had never ceased to consider him as a future churchman, returned to the college of Clermont, to finish his theological studies and receive holy orders. Father Bagot, a Jesuit highly gifted for the direction of souls, became, at that epoch, his spiritual adviser and prepared him for the priesthood.

François de Laval belonged, by birth and residence, to the diocese of Chartres, but he was from his boyhood a canon of Evreux; it is not to be doubted that he was ordained as a subject of the latter diocese, and that his lawful bishop granted all the required permissions.[1]

[1] What is called, in canon law, *litterae excardinationis* and *litterae dimissioriae*, that is to say, letters allowing one to leave his lawful diocese to become a member of another, in which he must be matriculated by letters *incardinationis*.

The ordination undoubtedly took place in 1647, but some doubt remains about the day.[1]

Of the following years not much is known, but a document of the 1st of July, 1648, shows that he lived at Montigny and had preserved his birthright of his father's estates. It was a measure of prudence, as his brother, Jean-Louis, to whom he later, at an unknown date, resigned his rights, manifested the unhappy disposition of a vain, violent and unthrifty temper. He had also kept his canonry of Evreux, a proof that, in 1646, he had not altogether given up his idea of becoming a churchman.

There is, besides, evidence that, after having been a zealous member of the congregation, in the college, he had joined, with no less fervour, an association of the same kind formed in the city by Fr. Bagot. Under the brilliancy of the most polished society in the world, how many hidden miseries prompted the zeal of charitable souls! Hospitals, prisons, garrets of the poor, workshops, required help, consolation or, at least, instruction. The ardent and intelligent Jesuit had understood what an immense good could be done by a group of devoted young men adapted for such a task,

[1] The 23rd of September, according to Abbé Gosselin in his first edition, 1890, i. p. 47, which Rochemonteix has followed: *Les Jésuites*, etc. ii, p. 247. The 1st of May, according to the same author, in his edition of 1901, p. 33. As ordinations generally take place on Apostles' feasts, or during the Ember-days, it is supposed that the 1st of May, feast of St. Philip and St. Jean, is the right date, the new priest being, if we must trust the Abbé de la Colombière, twenty-four years and one day.

and he had instituted a congregation for people living in the world. Not only ancient students of Clermont enlisted, but priests, monks, even noblemen and prelates, felt happy to be admitted among the members. François de Laval was not of the last to join an association in which self-sanctification was a prelude to the sanctification and the welfare of others.

There he met and contracted a lasting friendship, with François Pallu, Vincent de Meurs, Bertrand Gontier, Ango des Maizerets, Henri-Marie Boudon, Pierre de la Motte-Lambert, Jean Dudouyt and several others, who all afterwards acquired fame by their saintly lives and actions. Some were the founders of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions; others went as missionaries and vicars-apostolic to China and Cochin-China; a few, as Ango des Maizerets and Dudouyt, became his helpmates in Canada. One of the most eminent was Boudon. As he was very poor, depending on charity for a living, François de Laval, who could appreciate his merit and virtue, chose him as a bosom friend and was happy to offer him hospitality at Montigny for several years. This fact, with the customs of the Gallican Church, frequently in clash with canon law, may be a plausible explanation of the following.

On the 1st of July, 1648, before Jean Testu, clerk in the royal notary's office, and his assistant Louis Testu, François de Laval resigned his

prebend in the cathedral of Evreux in behalf of Jacques de Cherville, prior of the priory of St. Georges-de-Motelle, but retained on the income, a yearly pension of three hundred livres tournois[1] to be paid in two assessments. As the rules of canon law require that benefices be conferred without diminution, for fear of simony, such a pension looks quite irregular. The Pope could alone have granted it, or the bishop, but only as a temporary measure required for the decent sustenance of the resigner. Nothing of that kind appears in the case. The Pope is not mentioned in the deed, and, as the see of Evreux was then vacant, the nomination, in virtue of the famous right of Régale, belonged to the king. On the 10th of October following, the king conferred on Jacques de Cherville the canonry, decreased yearly by three hundred livres. François de Laval could not want that sum for himself, whereas he is, in the deed, qualified "Lord of Montigny, living there—*Y demeurant*," and, besides, he received on the very same day, in the same chapter, another dignity of much greater importance and value. In fact, before the same notary public, "a noble man, Jacques Le Doulx de Melville, priest, counsellor and ordinary almoner to the king, prior of Our Lady of the Desert," resigned in his behalf the archdeaconry of Evreux. His Majesty the King was entreated to accept

[1] The *livre tournois* was worth twenty cents, while the *livre parisis* was twenty-five.

said resignation and to confer said archdeaconry on the Lord of Montigny, François de Laval.

In this latter case, however, the king did not use his power and the nomination was made, on the 7th of December, by the new bishop, Jacques Le Noël du Perron. Jacques de Melville had been archdeacon since 1634 and had resigned to become dean of the chapter. Belonging to a great family, he spent his income in charities, founded the seminary of the Eudists of Evreux and died only in 1680.

The abbé of Montigny, as he was called, had therefore from his former benefice, besides his archdeaconship, a pension of three hundred livres, which was not necessary to himself. His last historian is very likely right when he supposes that it was for the support of his friend Boudon. Although kindly admitted, and treated most friendly, at Montigny, yet it was a charge for a family whose circumstances, as already mentioned, were not of the brightest.

François de Laval took charge of his new dignity by proxy on the 15th of December, 1648. But before fulfilling the duties thereof, he managed to obtain, after the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, his degrees in theology, and at the beginning of 1649, took his license in canon law in the University of Paris.

An archdeaconry was not in those times, as nowadays, a simple dignity and a sinecure; im-

portant functions were attached to it. According to the expression of the Council of Trent, archdeacons were "the eyes of the bishop" and in a certain measure "his hands." They had therefore to visit the part of the diocese under their jurisdiction and do what the bishop in his more rare and more official visits could not easily do: to inquire carefully about the spiritual and material situation of the parishes; to see if the faithful were properly instructed, the poor and sick attended, the sacraments administered with care and piety, the sacred vases and ornaments kept in a state of decency, the religious buildings in good condition of cleanliness and preservation. If, in any of these, abuses had crept in, the archdeacons had to repress them. It was their duty to see to the erection of new parishes, if necessary, to the reparations of churches or the construction of new ones, when required, and to the finances. They presided over the installation of a new parish priest named by the bishop, presenting him the keys of the church and leading him, in presence of the congregation, to the altar, the pulpit, the confessional, the chief places where he was to fulfill his pastoral ministration.

The visit of the archdeacons, therefore, although less solemn than that of the bishop, had some likeness to it. They were received at the sound of bells, led in procession, by the pastor, into the church, presented with the stole and the key of the

tabernacle. When all things had been properly examined and settled, a sermon was delivered in the afternoon with the singing of vespers and the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Those visits were true parish holidays. The ancient catalogues of Evreux show that there were in that diocese three archdeaconries: Neubourg, which numbered one hundred and nineteen parishes; Ouches, which had two hundred and fifty-three; and Evreux, with five deaconries and one hundred and fifty-nine parishes, four of which had no residing priest. The last, comprising the city, was the most important and its titular was called the great archdeacon, having precedency over his colleagues.

When François de Laval entered upon his charge, the Fronde was at the height of its power, and as the governor of Normandy, the Duke of Longueville, was a chief of the *Frondeurs*, the province was in a state of turmoil. Some sided with the governor, some with the Earl of Harcourt, commander for the king, and there were frequent skirmishes between the opposing parties. In such an unstable situation, peaceful visits of archdeacons were not an easy matter. However, in the canonical inquest of 1657 there is ample proof that the abbé of Montigny faithfully discharged his duty.

The witnesses are of exceptional worth and under oath. The bishop of Bayeux, Mgr. Servien, certifies that François de Laval "possessed a rare

genius for impressing on the minds of the people the truths of religion and the precepts of the Catholic faith. I heard," he said later "that he has been several years archdeacon of Evreux and has performed his functions with a dignity and care which do him the greatest honour."

A testimony of still greater strength is given by Claude de Blampignon, commendatary abbot of the Cistercian monastery of the Almonry, in the diocese of Chartres, and by the Abbé Picques, rector of the parish of St. Josse, in Paris, a companion of François de Laval in the congregation of Father Bagot. Both assert that "they personally and with certainty know that the archdeacon of Evreux has perfectly fulfilled the duties of his charge with a zeal that earned him the greatest praise, carefully visiting the parishes, redressing abuses, frequently preaching the word of God with great edification and great benefit for all."

Another witness, Joseph Sain, testifies to his ardent piety: "He was," he said, "sincerely pious, offered every day, with great devotion, the holy sacrifice of mass and never omitted any of his religious duties.[1]

The Abbé de la Colombière was a faithful echo of such depositions when, in the funeral oration of the saintly bishop, he said; "The regularity of his visits, the fervour of his conduct, the reforms

[1] Sain was a member of the Society of the *Bons Amis* and therefore knew intimately Frs. de Laval.

and good order he established in the parishes, the relief he brought to the poor, his continual care to do every sort of good and to neglect none in his power, show that, although he was not yet a bishop, yet he had the spirit and the merit of a bishop, and that there was no kind of services which the Church could not expect from such a worthy son."

CHAPTER IV

THE CANADIAN CHURCH

BY special permission, the great archdeacon of Evreux, according to an old catalogue of the diocese was not bound to residence.[1] Therefore, his duties discharged, he remained free to live where he chose. This explains why he is frequently to be found in Paris with his pious friends of the congregation. Five of the most fervent among them, Pallu, Gonthier, Fermanel, Boudon and Laval, decided, under the direction of Fr. Bagot, without ceasing to be members of the congregation, to form themselves into a special association in order to attain greater perfection of life. They at first hired rooms in the inn of the *White Rose*, near the college of Clermont, but soon perceived, by the too great variety and too low grade of the patrons, that, for their purpose, a more peaceful abode had to be chosen. They removed to other quarters and finally to the rue St. Dominique, in the suburb St. Jacques. They were soon joined by others: namely, Ango des Maizerets, de Meurs, Gazil, Chevreuil and Dudouyt. Almost all were

[1] Canon law obliges all clergymen to reside in their diocese, even if they have no benefices; to live elsewhere, a permission is required. It is the law of residence, which binds yet more strictly owners of benefices. However, a time of vacation is granted yearly.

pupils of the Jesuits, to whom they were indebted for their deep religious feelings and their knowledge of divine ways. In spite of a great difference of conditions and fortune among them, they lived in a most brotherly union. The poorest, Boudon, the beggar, was the one who had the greatest influence. A few only were priests, the greatest number were young men of the world; nevertheless they all lived as members of a fervent religious community. Fearless Christians, untiring workers, they spent their time in the austere practice of virtue, in prayer, pious colloquies, study and works of charity, visiting prisons and hospitals, to console and relieve the afflicted. Pallu, under the supervision of Fr. Bagot, wrote rules for the association. Their motto was: *Cor unum, anima una*—"One heart, one soul." Such a mode of life, so much in contrast with the usual thoughtlessness and frivolity of youth, could not pass unnoticed. It earned for the Good Friends, as they were called, the esteem and praise of all the righteous, but in the meantime the bitings and scoffs of the envious and the wicked. Libels were published and spread against them. They remained unmoved and continued to prepare their minds and hearts for the unknown tasks that Providence might have in store for them.

An unexpected opportunity was soon offered. A Jesuit, Fr. Alexander de Rhodes, who had been first to preach the Gospel in Tonkin and one of

the most remarkable missionaries of Cochin-China, had been delegated, by his companions in those far distant missions, to find priests that would help them in their hard and perilous work of evangelization. Having left Tonkin in 1647, he reached Rome only in 1649. By pen and speech he explained his zealous designs, showed the necessity of forming bishoprics and a native clergy in these eastern countries. His superiors and the Pope highly approved of his generous views. Innocent X would even have made him first bishop of Tonkin, if he had not been restrained by the entreaties of the humble missionary.

But, with all that praise and approbation, after three years, nothing practical had yet been done. In the fall of 1652, on the order of Father Nickel, recently elected general of the Jesuits, Fr. de Rhodes left Rome with the hope of finding in France what he was so anxious to find and had vainly searched for in Italy and elsewhere, a body of apostles to evangelize Tonkin and Cochin-China. Welcomed by the superior of the order in France he began in the French pulpits a crusade against the enemies of the Faith in Japan, China, Cochin-China and Persia. The success was immediate: from the several colleges of the company showered letters of young men offering themselves for the glorious, though dangerous, mission. Fr. Alex. de Rhodes chose twenty. He had the soldiers, but commanders, that is to say bishops, were to be

found out of the order, in the clergy. At this juncture he was made acquainted, by Fr. Bagot, with the association of the Good Friends.

He dined with them and, in the intimacy of a familiar conversation, spoke of his fellow-missionaries, of their labours, their sacrifices, their hopes for the amelioration of the sad condition of the Christians in the east, of the yet more deplorable state of the infidels, and found hearts prepared to understand his appeal. Their devotion amazed him, and when he left them he said that neither in seminaries, nor in any other place in Europe, had he found such perfect dispositions as among these young men. In their ranks he might find what he was seeking. In fact, when Fr. Bagot openly spoke to them of the eastern missions, they all declared themselves ready to start immediately. A retreat of ten days was advised by the wise director to consider such a serious determination: it not only left their minds unchanged but even increased their desires. Unhappily obstacles, not in their power to avert, thwarted, at least for some time, their pious designs.

Three among them had been chosen and proposed in Rome as vicars-apostolic,—François de Laval, François Pallu and Bernard Picques. The intention of Fr. Alexander de Rhodes was that they should be independent of Portugal, which, by a concession of Pope Martin V, exercised a sort of protectorate over the missions of Asia. For that

reason, he had managed to secure funds for their decent sustenance. Rome also required securities, but for the maintenance of two bishops only. She did not seem to approve of more for the moment. The necessary capital was quickly raised, as many influential persons were earnestly interested. All things were ready, the zealous volunteers of the far-east mission, still laymen for the most part, were eager to embark, the consecration of the vicars-apostolic only remained to be performed, when the scheme met with strong opposition from the ambassador of Portugal in Rome. The king, his master, feared that the presence of so many French missionaries, and chiefly of French bishops, would deal a heavy blow to the trade and influence of his nation in the east, and finally bring the loss of the remainder of its colonies. In presence of such a serious obstacle, Rome, little hasty to resist in front a powerful adversary, did what she ever does; she temporized, as Fabius of old, and negotiated.

These events took place in 1653. At the beginning of 1655, on the 7th of January, when he was expecting a successful conclusion of the negotiations, Pope Innocent X unhappily died. A month before, Father de Rhodes had left France, sent by his superior to establish a mission in Persia. There his fellow-missionaries were to join him on Portuguese ships sailing from Lisbon. The death of the Pope protracted the parleys, and almost four

years elapsed before Alexander VII could bring to a happy close this affair of the eastern vicariates-apostolic. But, in 1658, of the three bishops chosen in 1653 only one, François Pallu, remained free. He was consecrated as vicar-apostolic of Tonkin and two of his fellow-members in the society of Good Friends, Cotolendi and Peter de la Mothe-Lambert, joined him as vicars-apostolic, respectively, of China and Cochin-China. Of his two former colleagues, François Picques and François de Laval, one had become rector of the small parish of St. Josse[1] in Paris, and the other through Providence, was to face, instead of the scorching sun of south Asia, the refreshing snow storms of New France in North America.

But between his nomination as vicar-apostolic of Tonkin, in 1653, and his choice, in 1658, to fill the same charge in New France, what befell him deserves at least a short mention.

Although his noble blood and high position gave him a right to foster hopes of illustrious rank in the French hierarchy, he had despised all such human ambition, and willingly accepted the humble post of vicar-apostolic in the east, because it was much more one of self-sacrifice than of honours.

He even resigned his archdeaconry in behalf of

[1] Small indeed: it contained only twenty-nine houses and exists no more. It is now part of St. Mèrry. See Gosselin, *Au pays de Mgr. de Laval*, Quebec, 1910. p. 8.

his friend Henri-Marie Boudon. Boudon was already famous for his piety, but he was not a priest, nor willing, through humility, to become one. He was prevailed upon by his spiritual advisers, the Jesuits, to receive holy orders, and took possession of his dignity at the end of February, 1654.

During the following summer an incident took place which is worth mentioning because it recalls an old Canadian custom,—the fires, on St. John's day. The two friends were at Montigny, and as the famous fires, formerly of a religious character, had become an occasion of disorders, François de Laval had ordered that there should be none in his seigniory, excepting the one at the church, which all the villagers were invited to attend. Boudon gave from the pulpit a severe lecture on the subject. The people in general submitted, but François, having heard that a few strong heads had determined to have a fire in a hostelry, went there in person, had it quenched and fined the culprits on behalf of the church.

Boudon took charge of his archdeaconry some days later, on the 27th of June.

In the discharge of his duty, as shown in the repression of these disorders of St. John's day, he exhibited such a zeal that revenge and hatred roused against him odious calumnies, which found credit even with his bishop. But after years of trials and humiliation his innocence shone forth,

and he has left, for holiness of life, one of the great names of that epoch. Until the end he remained a staunch friend to Mgr. de Laval and died only a few years before him, almost an octogenarian.

A proof that a change had taken place in the mind of François de Laval is that, resigning his archdeaconry in Rome,[1] on the 6th of December, 1653, he took from it no income whatever, although it could have been easily obtained. "He gave up his dignity," says one of the witnesses in the canonical information of 1657, "simply, for the good of the Church, without asking for any benefice or retaining any pension." He understood that doctrine of detachment from earthly things, which in after life he was to practise to such a degree of perfection.

What contributed to give the finishing stroke to spiritual life in his soul, and to make him a man living for God alone, was the famous *Hermitage* of Caen, where he passed a great part of his time, if not all, from 1654 to 1658. That institution cannot be passed over in silence.

It had been established by Jean de Bernières-Louvigny, treasurer of France in the district of Caen. Jean de Bernières was a pious laymen who had chosen to remain in single life in order to

[1] The document bears: "According to the signature given in Rome on the 7th day of the Ides of December, the 10th year of Pope Innocent X." Was Frs. de Laval in Rome in December, 1653? Gosselin says so in his first edition, 1890, i. p. 60, but denies it in the edition of 1901, p. 48, on the ground that there is no trace of such a journey in all his correspondence.

have more liberty for his personal sanctification and for good deeds. He had already done much for New France by favouring and procuring, more than any one else, in 1639, the execution of the designs of Marie de l'Incarnation and Madame de la Peltrie. By the austerity of his life, the fame of his virtues, his devotedness to all sorts of charitable works, his knowledge of spiritual things and the wisdom of his advice, he had acquired over his contemporaries a great ascendency. Distinguished priests and even prelates condescended to live under his direction.

He had built, in the yard of the Urselines monastery, founded by his sister, Jourdaine de Bernières, a stone house large enough to shelter several persons. This was the Hermitage. Not more than five or six persons generally lived there at once. The rule of life was severe; time was spent in prayer, meditation, the practice of penance, spiritual lectures or colloquies. As a recreation, the inmates worked in the hospital, helping and consoling the poor, making their beds, dressing the sores of the sick. From that school of silence and mortification, of humility and charity, François de Laval derived that deep knowledge of spiritual ways, that love of prayer, that sympathy for sufferers of all kinds, that indifference to personal attire, that contempt of bodily comfort, that forgetfulness of self, of which we shall see so many examples.

He was now ready for the task, still unknown to him, for which Heaven had destined him. These Christian virtues, joined to his natural qualities of clearness of mind and firmness of will, rendered him just the man needed in New France.

While the eastern missions, to develop and become regularly organized, were in quest of bishops, another country, at the opposite extremity of the world, required also a ruler of its religious interests. New France it was. A glance at its past history will be useful to understand how the nomination of a bishop became necessary.

The Church of New France, if its years are taken into account, was, in 1657, no longer in its infancy. To say nothing of the priests who undoubtedly accompanied Jacques Cartier in his two first voyages, de Monts had with him ministers of the Gospel in Acadia as early as 1604. The Jesuits came afterwards, in 1611, and remained until the destruction of the colony of St. Sauveur by Argall in 1613.

On the shores of the St. Lawrence, although Quebec was founded in 1608, it was only in 1615 that Champlain succeeded in bringing a few Récollets. A small chapel was built in what is now the lower town, and a monastery where the General Hospital now stands. The missionaries immediately began their work of evangelization among the Indian tribes. One of them, Fr. Joseph le Caron, in spite of the advice of Champlain to the

contrary, even had the courage to go without delay to winter in the Huron country, between Lake Simcoe and Nottawassaga Bay, on Lake Huron.

In 1625, on the request of the Récollets, the Jesuits came to partake of their labours. They received at first, for a couple of years, hospitality in the monastery of Notre Dame des Anges, until they had built for themselves a convent on the north side of river St. Charles, between the brooks St. Michel and Lairet, about seven or eight hundred paces from the Franciscans' building. Meanwhile, and until the fall of Quebec in 1629, both orders worked hand in hand for the spiritual welfare of the colonists and for the conversion of the Indians, chiefly of the Hurons among whom some of them had taken up permanent quarters.

After the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1632, which restored Canada to France, Richelieu, who was not willing to send missionaries of different orders into a poor colony, offered the mission to the Capuchin friars. They refused. In their stead the Jesuits were invited, and returned alone, to the great disappointment of the Récollets, who were eager to continue their labours in that field where they had been the first to sow the good seed. In spite of all their efforts, nearly forty years were to elapse before they saw the realization of their desires. The will of the powerful minister, or of his adviser, Fr. Joseph du Tremblay, surnamed "Son Eminence Grise," sufficiently explains, at least

for the beginning, their exclusion, without diminishing in the least their merits.

The missionaries devoted themselves to a double task—evangelization and education.

As early as 1635, they established a college in Quebec, which was to be under the Old Régime our chief educational institution. The Récollets, before 1629, had done their utmost to instruct the Indians' children and had established a seminary for them in their convent. But all their exertions came almost to nought. Parents were exceedingly fond of their children and felt most unwilling to part with them. If they consented to leave a few with the charitable fathers, the trouble of keeping those little wild beings, accustomed to indulge in all their caprices and to enjoy the unrestricted freedom of their forests, was almost beyond human powers. Among those who received a thorough French training, the Montagnais Pierre Antoine Patetchounon, having passed five years in France, seemed the most entirely frenchified and even had to be sent back for a while among his tribe to preserve the knowledge of his own language. He nevertheless became a regenade and died a wretched death. As it turned out, it would have been better if he had never left his native wilderness.

The Jesuits, although no more successful than the Récollets in their efforts to instruct little Indians, were more happy at least with Aman-

tacha, who, brought up in France, as Pierre Antoine had been, and baptized under the name of Louis de Sainte-Foy, was to be a help to the missionaries among the Hurons as long as he lived.

Mother Marie l'Incarnation and the Ursulines, who came to Canada in 1639, with the Sisters of the Quebec Hôtel Dieu, had somewhat better results with the girls, but convent or college seclusion was almost unbearable to these free children of the woods.

All these endeavours to instruct the little Indians aimed to help on the diffusion of the Gospel. Such was the chief object of the missionaries. But how difficult! Unknown languages had to be learned without grammar or dictionary. A man like Father Le Jeune, for instance, became the pupil of an Indian boy and had to yield to his caprices and tricks; or, for the same purpose, he followed during one winter, over hill and dale, ice and snow, a party of hunting Montagnais, nearly lost his eyesight by the smoke of the wigwams and would have died by starvation had he not, sometime before, chanced to patch his robe with an eel's skin, of which he ate the pieces. To win the hearts of the savages, one must, besides, bear their incredible dirtiness, their importunities, adopt their fashions of life, partake of their dishes and of their vermin, paddle all day, squatting in their canoes, amidst swarms of mosquitoes, the only relief being a meal of sagamity in the morning, and one

at night, when it could be got. But the missionary, Récollet or Jesuit, did not shrink from such superhuman abnegation. All the Indian tribes, from the Micmacs of Acadia to the distant Huron nations, the Montagnais of the Saguenay, the Attigamegues of the upper St. Maurice, the Algonquins of the north, heard the heralds of Christ.

But the chief efforts for evangelization were bent on the conversion of the powerful nation of the Hurons. Father Jean de Brébeuf, before the taking of Quebec by Kirke, had already worked among them with the Récollets Le Caron and La Roche-d'Aillon. He went back in 1634 with Fathers Daniel and Davost, soon followed by several other zealous missionaries. They established missions in different villages, even in the neighbouring tribes, the Neutrals and Tobacco Nation. In spite of unremitting labours, the Christian faith progressed but slowly; among the inhabitants of the woods many obstacles barred its triumph.

Some lay with the Indians themselves: their blind confidence in sorcerers; their gross nature, which saw nothing above material welfare, so much so that their very languages had no terms to express spiritual things. But, sad to say, the worst came from the so-called civilized Europeans. Champlain and Sagard already complained of the evil conduct of tradesmen, which was a scandal to the poor inhabitants of the woods and became, with the development of the fur trade, a real

THE ARRIVAL OF THE URSULINES

From a painting by Frank Craig in the possession of A. G. Doughty

plague. New France was, besides, left in a most deplorable state of helplessness by the companies, even by the Company of New France, to which its progress had been injudiciously entrusted. A handful of barbarians, the dreaded Iroquois, terror of the country, infested the St. Lawrence, lay in ambush in every nook and corner, and defied the French in their very forts. Such weakness rendered them, and the Gospel in the meantime, contemptible in the eyes of the native tribes.

Nevertheless after several years of sufferings and dangers, of prayer and unceasing work, the dawn of Christianity began to shine upon Huronia. Converts became numerous, and fervent congregations were forming in many of the Huron villages. The mission Sainte-Marie on the river Wye was the centre. The time could be foreseen when all the nation would be Christian. But in July, 1648, the terrible war-cry of the Iroquois resounded and struck with awe the unheeding village of St. Joseph. The warriors were absent: axe and flame worked an entire destruction. Father Daniel fell with his neophytes. In March, 1649, came the turn of St. Ignace and St. Louis, where Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant met with such a cruel, and yet, such a glorious fate. In December of the same year, pursuing their ravages, the Iroquois destroyed the village of St. John, in the Tobacco nation, and Father Charles Garnier, known as the Lamb of the Missions, as Father de

Brébeuf was the Lion, received there the crown of martyrs, while Father Chabanel, flying with some neophytes, obtained the same reward at the hand of an apostate Huron.

It was the end of the Hurons as a great nation. What remained dispersed among other tribes. A certain number, after having nearly starved in the Island St. Joseph, now Christian Island in Lake Huron, were led to Quebec by Father Paul Ragueneau, the last superior of the Huron missions. They occupied various places, in the Island of Orleans, at Notre Dame des Agnes, Notre Dame de Foy, Old Lorette, and finally removed to New Lorette where they are still to be found, witnesses of a sad, though a glorious, past.

The victims of Huronia were not alone to fall under the terrible tomahawk of the Iroquois. Father Jogues, taken a prisoner by them, in 1642, with the pious *donné* René Goupil and Guillaume Couture, had, until his liberation by the Dutch, in December, 1643, to suffer unspeakable tortures. Goupil was killed. In 1646, sent back to the Five Nations as an ambassador, the heroic missionary and his devoted companion, the young *donné* Jean de la Lande, were treacherously butchered. Father Buteux met with a similar fate in 1652. Father Bressani in 1644, with the exception of death, had to bear the same torments as Father Jogues.

After relating the sufferings of the Jesuit martyrs, Bancroft writes: "It may be asked if these

massacres quenched enthusiasm. I answer that the Jesuits never receded one foot: but, as in a brave army, new troops press forward to fill the places of the fallen, there were never wanting heroism and enterprise in behalf of the cross and French dominion."

Even the Mohawks were, in future years, to hear the Word of God and bear fruits of sanctity.

But the Jesuits were not content with working in distant missions. It was a dream of the Court of France to frenchify and train the Indians in the uses of civilization by having them to live in, or, at least, near, the European settlements. Therefore, to comply with such a good, though fanciful, intention, and to lead more easily the wandering natives to Christian virtues, Father Le Jeune established in 1638, three miles above Quebec, the famous sedentary mission, which he named, after its benefactor, the saintly Commander de Sillery, St. Joseph of Sillery. There the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu built their first monastery in 1640. But as it was not in the fort, they had, in 1644, to leave it and seek shelter in Quebec against the Iroquois who threatened to kidnap them. Their property, sold to Ruette d'Auteuil, became the fief of Monceaux, and the convent was transformed into a manor.

As only two or three members of the secular clergy were in the country at that epoch, the Jesuits had also to exercise their ministry among

the French settled here and there, and chiefly in Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, where more numerous groups had formed.

The Canadian Church, in spite, or perhaps because, of its littleness lived in great fervour and peace. But, as we shall see in the next chapter, a storm was gathering.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN NEW FRANCE

IN the Catholic Church, for the lawful ministration of the sacraments and sometimes for their validity, a power of jurisdiction over a certain territory must be obtained from him who holds supreme spiritual authority over such territory; from the bishop, if it be in a diocese, or from the Pope.

From whom did the Jesuits hold their powers? Who had supreme ecclesiastical authority in Canada? These questions were to be the cause of strife, both serious and long continued. As the Récollets received their powers directly from Rome in 1615, so did the Jesuits, when they returned in 1632: they were granted the same powers as the missionaries of the East Indies. But in 1647 the archbishop of Rouen raised the pretension of having a right of jurisdiction over New France. On what ground? Very likely because many of the colonists came from his diocese and because the missionaries, sailing from Dieppe, or Le Havre, asked from him approbation for the voyage on sea. The few secular priests in the country must also have obtained their powers from Rouen. By such acts of jurisdiction the primate of Normandy

little by little was wont to consider New France as an extension of his diocese. But dioceses do not extend in that manner. Otherwise Mantes, La Rochelle, Bayonne and other sea ports, could have set up similar pretensions. A provision from Rome would have been necessary; it was never granted.

Nevertheless, as it was a matter of great consequence, for the validity of marriages and of religious vows depended on it, Father Vimont, after having consulted the theologians of the order in Paris, in 1647 asked, and easily obtained, for the superior of the Jesuits in New France, the powers of vicar-general of Rouen.

They were confirmed in 1649 by ample letters patent from the archbishop. Finally, in 1653, François de Harlay the younger, who had succeeded his uncle in that see, in 1651, sent a mandement to promulgate the jubilee of Innocent X. Father Lalemant read it from the pulpit and profited by that opportunity to proclaim the prelate as ecclesiastical superior of New France. And so, although the general of the Jesuits in Rome judged that such an authority had no canonical foundation, yet the jurisdiction of François de Harlay over Canada became a fact.

As long as the Jesuits remained alone in the field, this power of vicar-general, if it gave nothing, caused no uneasiness either, but that situation was approaching an end.

The island of Montreal had been conceded by the Company of New France to Jean de Lauson, who in his turn granted it to the Society of Notre Dame de Montreal. As that association was composed of persons distinguished by rank, wealth and piety, the establishment of Ville Marie in the island rapidly developed under the able direction of the brave M. de Maisonneuve. Large sums were spent in the undertaking. Had the Society of New France, founded in 1627 by Richelieu, evinced the same generosity, the country would not have been for so long a time terrorized by the Iroquois.

Among the associates of Montreal was the saintly M. Olier, founder of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. From the choice of the colonists, all endowed with piety and zeal, and from the documents, it is evident that, although solicitous for temporal prosperity, the chief aims of the Society were the glory of God and the conversion of infidels. They understood that the one helps the other. As early as 1645 they endeavoured to have Quebec erected into a bishopric and the Abbé Thomas Legauffre chosen as titular of the see. The choice was good; it pleased Mazarin and the Jesuits, because that humble priest enjoyed universal esteem for his charity and his holiness of life. He unhappily died during a retreat he was making under the direction of Father Hayneufve, and the question of a bishop in New France had to be dropped for a while, on account of the attacks

of the Iroquois, which brought the colony almost to the verge of complete ruin.

The pride of the Company of New France had been piqued by the exertions of the Society of Montreal. In 1650 they entreated the queen mother, Anne of Austria, to obtain from Rome the erection of the bishopric of Quebec, and pointed out, as titular, Father Charles Lalemant. In the council for ecclesiastical affairs, two other Jesuits, Fathers Paul Ragueneau and Paul Le Jeune, were also mentioned. The queen favoured the latter. But Father Goswin Nickel, then vicar-general of the company in Rome, answered the request of the Hundred Associates by a formal *veto* to the nomination of any Jesuit. The matter had again to be postponed, and was, besides, delayed by the troubles of the Fronde. But the society of Notre Dame de Montreal, which was in earnest to obtain, as a bishop in Canada, an ecclesiastic of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, submitted the question to the assembly of the clergy held from October 25th, 1655, to May 23rd, 1657. Antoine Godeau, bishop of Vence, their intermedium, insisted, in the sitting of August 9th, 1656, upon the necessity of a bishopric on the shores of the St. Lawrence, and, on the 10th of January, 1657, proposed, for the future see, Gabriel de Thubière de Levy-Queylus, Abbot of Loc-Dieu, and formerly pastor of the city of Privas in Vivarais, a stronghold of the Huguenots.

Had Abbé de Queylus already been in New France in the quality of vicar-general of the archbishop of Rouen, as Father de Rochemonteix follows Charlevoix in asserting? No trace is to be found of such a voyage in the Jesuits' *Relations*, nor in any other known document of the time; it is denied by Abbé Gosselin, chiefly on the ground that M. de Queylus became a priest only in 1645. But, in the *Life of M. Olier*, by Faillon, referred to by the author, we read that Gabriel de Queylus was among some distinguished young *ecclesiastics* who, in 1642, entered the Seminary of Vaugirard to acquire the virtues of their station in life. He and Louis de Pardaillon de Gondrin were the first to do so. Pardaillon was only twenty-two, and, in 1644, became coadjutor to the archbishop of Sens; M. de Queylus, being born in 1612, was thirty in 1642, and his elder by eight years. He is qualified: Abbot of Loc-Dieu. Be this said to show that, if his quality of vicar-general of Rouen and his coming to Canada in 1644 are most improbable, they are by no means impossible. The authority of Charlevoix deserves some consideration. It must be added that the historian gives no date, but simply mentions the voyage and says that the vicar-general was not acknowledged by the missionaries and had to go back.

Anyhow, when the abbé was proposed for the future see of Quebec, the Jesuits felt uneasy and,

wishing to have a bishop kindly to their order and favourable to their designs, determined to propose a candidate of their own choice. In that same month of January, 1657, they presented to the king their former pupil, François de Laval, who was immediately accepted. On being himself asked if he would consent to be a bishop in New France, the humble priest answered that he preferred it to going to Tonkin, because he thought the climate there much more rigorous, the commodities of life much less attainable, the hardships greater, than in the latter country. The king in consequence wrote to the Pope to obtain that the nomination should be accepted and Bulls granted to the new bishop.

Defeated on that point, the society of Montreal, anxious to have Sulpicians for the spiritual service of Ville Marie, entreated the saintly Abbé Olier to send there some priests of his seminary. He chose for the purpose, MM. de Queylus, Souart, de Galinier and d'Allet. It was the last important act of a fruitful life. They had not yet left France when he died. M. de Queylus, himself a member of the Society of Montreal, was their superior and M. d'Allet, still a simple deacon, his secretary. The former was bearer of letters patent investing him with the powers of vicar-general and of official to the archbishop of Rouen. As the superior of the Jesuits had the same powers, a clash between the two dignitaries could not easily be avoided.

The superior was then Father Jean de Quen, the discoverer of Lake St. John, a zealous, humble, pious, indefatigable missionary, a good-natured man, the last to be jealous of honours or authority. The Abbé de Queylus was also a most pious priest, who by his zeal and his generosity had already done much good in France and was to do more in New France. But human nature is an abyss of weaknesses. Could he entirely forget that the Jesuits had shaken from his head the impending mitre? Did he not resent, at least unconsciously, their distrust of his ability or good dispositions? Saints, such as his master M. Olier, are raised high above such imperfect natural feelings. That the abbé was enough of a saint to practise humility to such a degree does not clearly appear from the events which followed.

As soon as Father de Quen heard, at the end of July, 1657, of the coming of the Sulpicians, he went in a canoe as far as the island of Orleans to meet them, led them to Quebec, showed them into the residence, the church, the Sillery mission. In a word he treated the new vicar-general as a superior, and instead of courteously remarking that, as long as he was not notified himself of the ceasing of his own powers, he must keep them, instead of politely calling him: "My most venerable colleague,"—he practically abdicated his authority. What was to happen, happened.

Father de Quen had installed as rector of the

parish in Quebec, Father Poncet. The Abbé de Queylus, in virtue of his powers, confirmed the nomination. This however did not destroy the authority of the superior of the Jesuits over his subordinate. It had been expressly reserved and had to be exerted only a few weeks after the new vicar-general had gone up to Montreal.

Father Poncet was undoubtedly a zealous missionary, daring and impulsive, but with too great a tendency to follow his own will. His health in body and mind had been impaired by his cruel captivity in 1653 among the Iroquois. He had become hasty, suspicious, moody, discontented with every thing and every one. In his position of pastor, he believed he could have his own way without even consulting his religious superior. Father de Quen, on the advice of his counsellors, judged it necessary to remove him from office and to entrust the parish of Quebec to Father Claude Pijart, who, until the coming of the Sulpicians, had, with universal applause, ruled the parish of Montreal, recently left in the hands of Abbé Souart. Father Poncet, despite his shortcomings was a virtuous and zealous priest; he asked to be sent to the mission of Onondaga, which offered at that moment encouraging prospects. Montreal being on his way he could not but pay his duties to the Abbé de Queylus, and, pressed by questions, informed him bit by bit of his past tribulations and of his new errand. What a good opportunity

for the vicar-general to assert what he considered his spiritual mastership. He took back with him to Quebec Father Poncet, over whom, as a simple Jesuit, had he had a dozen of vicar-general commissions, he possessed not the least authority, deposed Father Pijart from his office of pastor and took upon himself the charge of the parish.

That he displayed in that office great zeal, is undeniable: he was a man of abounding piety and devotedness. Among many proofs of his piety, let us mention the beginning, in 1658, of the first chapel of St. Anne de Beaupré, which has become the famous shrine visited every year by more than one hundred thousand pilgrims from all parts of North America. He also laid, in the same year, the first stone of the church of Château-Richer, which was finished the next year. He testified to the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu a great benevolence and even would have entrusted to them the hospital of Montreal. As that design could not be realized, the generous abbé gave later six thousand livres to found a perpetual dowry for the sustenance of a nun in the monastery. His gentlemanly manners and his wealth, which enabled him to treat generously the poor in a time of general distress, made him extremely popular. The Jesuits maintained a prudent silence. They simply inserted a few short notes in their *Journal*, and Father de Quen sent to his superior-general a memoir in answer to one in which the abbé had

accused him, among other things, of ill-treating Father Poncet. In these documents all the details of the conflict known to us are to be found.

The Annals of the Ursulines only say that in his new position, during his short stay in Quebec, that is to say, from the middle of September, 1657, to the middle of August, 1658, "M. de Queylus caused much trouble to the R.R. Jesuit Fathers, towards whom he did not seem to have good feelings." He annoyed the good nuns themselves by depriving them of their confessor, the Abbé Guillaume Vignal, whom he sent to Montreal, and who afterwards became a Sulpician and was killed and eaten by the Iroquois in 1661. As for the Jesuits, they were favoured by many occasions for practising patience and humility. Forbidden to say mass, to preach and hear confessions in the parochial church which they had built, to perform any ecclesiastical functions out of the college chapel, they are sometimes in sermons alluded to as Pharisees, accused of having misused their powers of vicar-general and celebrated marriages that were null. The abbé even brought them to law to obtain possession of their residence or oblige them to build one for him. These facts speak for themselves and require no comment. Such petty acts of peevish autocracy amply show that, with all his attainments, the Abbé de Queylus had not yet attained the ethereal heights where bishops should breathe and move. When Mgr. de

Harlay became acquainted with this deplorable state of things he wrote a letter which reached Quebec in July, 1658, and defined the jurisdiction of his two vicars-general. The superior of the Jesuits was confirmed in his powers for the region of Quebec and the Abbé de Queylus saw his sovereignty limited to the island of Montreal. He returned there in the following August, not without some reluctance.

That intervention of the archbishop of Rouen would alone be sufficient to show that the narration of the facts related above has been, for edification's sake probably, much attenuated by the Abbé Faillon.[1] According to his version things would have gone, between M. de Queylus and the Jesuits, as smoothly and unanimously as between the Siamese Twins. But the contrary is shown by some of his own expressions: when, for instance, about those events he writes: "Unpleasant as may be the details which I am now to relate, the truth and integrity of history do not allow me to pass them over in silence." Further on he speaks of "the divisions occasioned in Canada by the presence of M. de Queylus since he has taken charge of the parish of Quebec." In both places he says that the state of affairs rendered necessary the nomination of a bishop. Useless to say that, as in all conflicts, each party had its followers.

[1] Abbé E. M. Faillon: *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada* (3 vols., Montreal, 1865–6). The Abbé Faillon was a devoted Sulpician.

Among those of M. de Queylus was the new governor, d'Argenson, a young man endowed with great qualities and an excellent disposition, but lacking one thing most necessary in a leader, that is to say, experience, which is acquired only by age and the management of affairs. The Jesuits had soon found out that their authority was undermined and that the faithful were stealthily induced to shun their guidance. Religion has never anything to gain by such manœuvres. All right-thinking people, d'Argenson himself, thought that the only true remedy for the evil was the nomination of a bishop. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation who, in 1646, found that the colony was not ripe for a bishop, wrote in 1658: "It would be a great benefit for this country to have a permanent superior: the time has now come that it be so." She added that he should be in sympathy with the Jesuits. It is the mere expression of common sense; since, in addition to their past labours and good services, they were almost the only clergy of the colony.

In France the feelings were not different. The agent of the king in Rome, M. Gueffier, even said once to the Pope that His Majesty feared that religion would be lost in Canada if a bishop were not soon established there. Notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of the king and of the queen mother, the nomination was tarrying, and, more than fifteen months elapsed before the Bull was sent which named François de Laval vicar-apos-

tolic of New France. It reached Paris in the beginning of July, 1658, and roused in some quarters quite stormy opposition.

Archbishop Harlay clung to his foreign jurisdiction. Seeing in the Bull a violation of his fictitious rights over New France, he obtained from the assembly of the clergy a circular to the bishops of France to prevent them from consecrating the new vicar-apostolic, and in the meantime, from the parliament of Rouen a decree forbidding the Abbé de Montigny to discharge such functions in New France.

The consecration of François de Laval was to be made in the town of Caen by the bishop of Bayeux with the assistance, according to canonical rules, of the bishops of Evreux and Ardue, the latter a suffragan of Rouen. Through deference for their primate, the prelates withdrew their promise. But the papal nuncio, Mgr. Piccolomini, knew the intentions of the court. Sure of the royal approval and assisted by Mgr. Abelly, bishop of Rodez, and Mgr. du Saussaye, of Toul, he conferred himself the episcopal consecration on the 8th of December, 1658, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, to which the new bishop ever afterwards preserved special devotion. It took place privately in a chapel of the abbey of S. Germain-des-Près, which was *exempted*,—that is to say, free from episcopal jurisdiction.

Although performed behind closed doors, the

event soon spread to the public and caused no little discontent to the archbishops of Rouen and Paris; to the one because it had been performed, and to the other because it had taken place in his diocese without his knowledge or permission. But all these complaints were groundless, since the consecrating and the consecrated prelates, and the place itself of the consecration, were dependent only on the Holy See.

François de Laval was consecrated under the title of Bishop of *Petræa in partibus infidelium*, an expression which it may perhaps be well to explain. Petræa, formerly a small town of Arabia, was in olden times the seat of a bishopric that exists no more. It was the same with many other places, even important cities, which are now in the hands, or under the rule of the infidels, *in partibus infidelium*. When a bishop is sacred without a diocese like Montreal, Quebec or Ottawa, but only to help another bishop, or to discharge an important function in the government of the church or in the papal court, he is given one of those titles of antique bishoprics—archbishop of Cyrene or Seleucia, of Heraclea or Antioch, bishop of Telmessus or Tarona, of Titopolis or Barca. These are merely *titles* and therefore, from 1882, the bearer is called *Episcopus titularis*—titular bishop, and no more *in partibus infidelium*. The reason of such titles is twofold: first to preserve the memory of churches which flourished in Christian antiquity, and,

secondly, to give a rank of honour to those who fill high positions in the papal palace, the Roman congregations, or are sent to foreign countries as Pope's delegates, nuncio, and vicars-apostolic. This last appellation, according to the meaning of the words, designates those who are sent to administer with full episcopal jurisdiction, in the name and by the authority of the Holy See, a bishopric that has become vacant or whose titular, for natural or canonical reasons, is disabled, and also a region which has not yet been erected into a regular diocese. Such was to be the case of Canada until 1674, and of Tonkin, where Laval's friend, Pallu, sacred bishop of Heliopolis, in March, 1658, was to fill the same charge as Laval in New France.

The Bull that recognized François de Laval bishop of Petræa in Arabia, truly entrusted to his care that ancient see, but, as long as the locality remained in the hands of the infidels, dispensed him from residing there, in order that he might discharge the office of vicar-apostolic in New France, which the Pope, by the same document, entrusted to him. No mention whatever, although the contrary has been sometimes asserted, was made of the archbishop of Rouen. In Rome his pretension were considered as perfectly groundless and his opposition caused great astonishment. So much so that Gueffier wrote to Brienne, the minister of state: "The Pope has let me know, by

the secretary of the Propaganda, that having heard of the opposition of the archbishop of Rouen to the vicariate-apostolic of M. de Montigny in Canada, on the ground that the country is a dependance of his diocese, his Holiness wished that I should write to the French court in the following way. As the vicariate-apostolic has been granted on the entreaties of the queen, who even endowed it with a yearly pension, may it please His Majesty the king to order that the said archbishop desist from his pretensions, which are groundless, since there is, for such jurisdiction, no brief of the Apostolic See, and the sending of priests there is not sufficient to acquire it."

Gueffier added that if his Grace the archbishop did not yield to the orders of their Majesties, the congregation might take in his case resolutions most unpleasant for him. But Harlay de Champvallon, future archbishop of Paris and adviser of Louis XIV in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was an influential and active prelate. He had powerful friends, among whom was the prime minister, Cardinal Mazarin. If he could not change the text of the Bull, he could obtain from the parliament of Paris, on the 16th of December, an order to forbid its execution before letters patent thereto had been issued, and from the parliament of Rouen, on the 23rd, a new decree against the authority of the vicar-apostolic. He could even do more. In the very letters patent of the 27th of March, 1659,

by which Louis XIV ordered that M. de Laval Montigny, bishop of Petræa, should be received by all his subjects in New France, this surprising clause, through the influence of Mazarin and the Gallicans, was inserted: "Without prejudice to the rights of the Ordinary, and until the erection of a diocese whose titulary shall be suffragan of the archbishop of Rouen, by the irrevocable consent of whom, we have accepted the disposition of Our Holy Father the Pope." The papal nuncio vainly observed that such a restriction was offensive to the Holy See, derogatory from its authority, what was written remained written, *Quod scripsi: scripsi!*

The queen mother, Anne of Austria, had taken that affair much to heart. Besides founding a yearly pension of one thousand livres for the vicar-apostolic, until he was endowed by the king with an equal or a greater income, she had also deposited fourteen thousand livres for his expenses when he had to go to Canada. Understanding the inconsistency of the royal letters patent, she corrected them by a clear and peremptory letter to Governor d'Argenson. The text is so important that it is given here in full:

"Master d'Argenson, I wish to join this letter to that of the king, my son, to let you know that, according to his intention and to mine, you must have the bishop of Petræa acknowledged as vicar-apostolic all over the country of Canada under

the power of the king, and see that he be obeyed in all episcopal functions, and even forbid any ecclesiastic or any one else to exercise spiritual jurisdiction save through the orders, or with the consent, of the said bishop. To which effect you must use the authority of your charge and send back to France any one that would oppose his establishment or refuse to submit to his jurisdiction: confident that you shall do so, I pray God, Master d'Argenson, to keep you in his holy and worthy keeping."

But notwithstanding such clear directions, there was still, as we shall see in the next chapter, mischief afoot.

CHAPTER VI

ARRIVAL IN NEW FRANCE

ONE of the chief qualities of François de Laval was his firmness of will. Amidst the storm of opposition he remained quiet and prepared coolly to fulfill his mission.

Having settled his family affairs and resigned his birthrights to his brother Jean-Louis, he conferred the powers of vicar-general for the affairs of Canada on the Abbé Poictevin, who had been one of his friends in the congregation of Father Bagot, and had become pastor of St. Josse. Having bid a last adieu to his venerable mother and to M. de Bernières, both of whom he was not to see again upon earth, as they died in that same year, he left Paris for La Rochelle in the beginning of April. He was accompanied by three priests, one of whom was the son of the former governor de Lauson, Charles de Lauson-Charny, who himself had administered the colony for a year, and the others, Jean Forcapel and Philippe Pèlerin. A young man, who had yet only received the tonsure, Henri de Bernières, nephew of M. de Bernières-Louvigny, followed them. He had been entrusted to the care of Mgr. de Laval and was to play an important part in the Church of Canada.

A man whom the prelate earnestly desired to have with him, was Father Jérôme Lalemant, formerly superior of the missions in New France and recently named rector of the college of La Flèche. The general of the Jesuits, who had at first refused the required permission, finally yielded to the entreaties of Father Renault, provincial of Paris, and of the bishop himself. Father Lalemant was allowed to return to New France. Father Le Jeune, who knew him well, judged that, in the circumstances, it was a most happy event, on account of his prudence and his firmness. The Jesuit, apprized of his change of obedience only at the last moments, could not be in La Rochelle before the 13th of April. The bishop, who would not sail without him, had to wait for the second ship, which put to sea on that same day. It was a motherly attention of Providence; the other ship which had started some time before, was delayed by rough weather and reached Quebec only in September, while the vessel on which was the vicar-apostolic with his companions, was at Percé on the 16th of May, and reached Quebec just one month later, on the 16th of June.

What his impressions may have been at the first sight of the St. Lawrence, in comparison with which the greatest rivers of France, the Seine and and the Loire, look like rivulets, is not easy to guess. He does not seem to have had in him much of the poet; he had, indeed, a positive mind. If

the site of Quebec, which he saw for the first time at six o'clock in the afternoon in the gilding halo of a setting sun, excited his admiration, as it did Frontenac's, he cannot but have remarked that it was nothing more than a poor village, poorer than the poorest in France. What, if compared to that luxurious Paris he had but left a few weeks before! And that was the share of his inheritance! But it was not of his temper to be much moved by the material side of things. He was coming for the conquest of souls. Through his voyage of a month on the waters of the St. Lawrence, broad almost and deep as the sea, he could judge of the immensity of the country, of the number of poor forlorn natives who dwelt in ignorance in its endless forests. For them he had left friends, country, earthly affections and hopes, and he thanked Heaven for having been chosen to "enlighten them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death."

As soon as the ship had dropped anchor, Governor d'Argenson went on board to pay his civilities to the vicar-apostolic. The reception, however, was postponed until the next day and performed with all the magnificence that the little city could display. The whole population went to the wharf of the lower town, where the bishop landed. "Arrayed," says Father Lalemant, "in pontifical vestments, always so showy, he looked as an angel of heaven, with such a majesty in his de-

meanour that the Indians could not turn away their eyes from his person." He was led to the church in procession, preceded by the clergy in surplices and followed by the citizens, amidst the flourishes of the college band, which alternated with the singing of the psalms and were mingled with the peal of the bells and reports of the cannon of the fort.

His presence caused universal and unalloyed rejoicing, although he had not that handsomeness, that amenity of manners, which conquer hearts at first sight. His long drooping nose would have marred features even more delicately delineated than his, but his tall and well-built frame betokened bodily vigour, while his thin lips, shaded, according to the fashion of the time, by a slight moustache, and his large forehead evinced firmness of will and high intelligence. An air of natural greatness about him was allayed by a great kindness of heart and by the practice of Christian humility. The more he became known, the more he was beloved.

From a material point of view, his position was far from pleasant. According to Marie de l'Incarnation "nothing had been prepared to receive him." He had no mansion of his own. He first lived for some time with the Jesuits, and afterwards for a few months at the Hôtel Dieu. But it could be only temporary, since the hospital was already too narrow to shelter the sick and the

nuns. He finally hired from the Ursulines the small house of Mme. de la Peltrie, on what is now Desjardins street, which passes in front of the monastery, on the eastern side. It was a small two-storied stone building of thirty feet by twenty. There he continued the life of austerity and wilful poverty he had begun to lead under the guidance of M. de Bernières. His priests, with the exception of M. de Lauson-Charny, the vicar-general, who remained with the Jesuits, lived in his company, and, according to Latour, had only one soul and one heart, forming a family of which he was the father.

"He lives in saintly wise," says Marie de l'Incarnation, "and like an apostle. His life is so exemplary that he excites the admiration of the whole country. He gives away everything and lives like a poor man, and it can well be said that he has the spirit of poverty. It appears in his lodgings, his table, his furniture, his servants; he has only one gardener, whom he lends to the poor that may want his help, and a footman who has been in the service of M. de Bernières."

M. de la Colombière says in his turn: "During the first three years of his administration, he has himself, or by the hand of some of his helpmates, secretly distributed among his flock ten thousand half crowns,—that is to say, thirty thousand livres, a large sum for the time and for a man who had but a very modest income."

Such habits of austerity, of charity and of denial of self, in which he persevered unshaken to the end of his life, could not but stir among the Canadians feelings of deep veneration for their bishop. "I cannot praise enough," wrote M. d' Argenson, "the piety and zeal of M. de Petræa, and I doubt not that he will bear great fruit in this country." Pierre Boucher, commander of Three Rivers, judged in the same manner: "We have," said he, "a bishop whose zeal and virtue are above all I can say."

The Indians were the first to profit by his pastoral care. Unmindful of their slovenliness and rudeness, he visited their poor cabins and ministered the sacraments to such as were dangerously ill. He found a real pleasure in christening some Huron children, and, when he conferred confirmation for the first time in the church of Quebec, he began with the poor inhabitants of the wilderness.

To know his flock he considered one of his chief duties, and he visited one by one the seventy-five or eighty families that then formed all the population of Quebec. Hardly had he finished that pastoral visit when, on the 7th of September, a vessel arrived with the purple fever on board. She had left La Rochelle on the 2nd of July and brought to Ville Marie an important reinforcement of nearly two hundred persons, sent at the expense of the Society of Montreal, the Seminary of St. Sulpice and the Paris Hôtel Dieu.

Among the number, were two Sulpicians, MM. Le Maistre and Vignal, and also Mlle. Mance and Marguerite Bourgeoys, who had returned to France during on the previous year to find help, one for the hospital of Ville Marie and the other for the schools she had begun to establish. Both were coming back after having achieved a complete success. Mlle. Mance had been miraculously cured, by the intercession of M. Olier, of a broken arm which, from having been neglected too long, all the French physicians she consulted had declared incurable. She brought with her three nuns of St. Joseph of La Flèche, Sister Judith Moreau de Brésoles, Catherine Massé and Marie Maillé, who had met, in the carrying out of their generous design, with most serious obstacles. These were to continue the work of Mlle. Mance in the hospital of Ville Marie, established by the generosity of Madame de Bullion. Marguerite Bourgeoys was accompanied by three pious girls, Aimée Châtel, Catherine Crolo and Marie Raisin, who, with the saintly founder, were the first members of the celebrated Congregation of Notre Dame. Unhappily a reinforcement of such importance for the future prosperity of Ville Marie, found place on a ship which had been used as a hospital for mariners and was infected with the plague. Almost all the passengers caught the purple fever. Although sick themselves, the priests and the sisters did their best to relieve their fellow-sufferers. Eight died

at sea. When the ship reached Quebec, the good Father de Quen went, one of the first, on board to bring refreshments to the sick, and having caught the disease, a few days later fell a victim to his charity. The Hôtel Dieu was filled with plague-stricken persons, and the bishop, accustomed in the Hermitage of Caen to attend the sick, passed a great part of his time there to console and help the sufferers. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation could write: "He is continually in the hospital serving the sick and making their beds. Whatever may be done to prevent him from exposing his person is useless: no human eloquence is able to divert him from such acts of humility."

On the 29th of September, Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys, with a part of the new colonists, was able to continue her way towards Montreal, while Mlle. Mance with the Sisters of St. Joseph, was held back first by sickness and afterwards by circumstances that require some explanation.

These sisters, destined to take charge of the Montreal hospital, belonged to a new community formed at La Flèche by Jérôme Le Royer de la Dauversière, a pious layman. Their rules had not yet been approved by Rome and they did not even wear a religious dress. On the other hand, there was already in the country an order of nuns for the keeping of hospitals, the sisters of St. Augustine, who, besides all the canonical requisites for a regular standing, had administered, with

universal approbation, the Quebec Hôtel Dieu for the last twenty years. Mgr. de Laval thought—and it was not easy to think otherwise—that in such a state of things, it would be an excellent measure if the new-comers adopted the dress and the rules of the existing community and became members thereof. Even M. de Queylus, as already mentioned, was willing to intrust the sisters of St. Augustine with the hospital of Montreal. On his demand two nuns of Quebec Hôtel Dieu had gone to Montreal to take charge. They arrived just two days before Mlle. Mance left for Europe, but the views of that lady, whose name deserves such honour in Canadian history, were quite different, and, as she had, for her lifetime, the management of the Bullion foundation, she was able to control the situation. She received the Quebec sisters with politeness, but instead of intrusting them with the care of the hospital during her absence, she committed it to some pious girls under the guidance of one Mlle. de la Bardillière, a widow who later on married Jacques Testard de la Forest. As for the two nuns, they were invited by sister Marguerite Bourgeoys, who was also going to Europe, to teach the Montreal children in her place, which they did with great humility and devotedness until the end of September, 1659.

In such an emergency Bishop de Laval retained for some time in Quebec the sisters of St. Joseph.

He endeavoured by advice and persuasion to win them to his views. No wonder that he did so: bishops are not scarce nowadays who would act in the same way and even more severely. According to the testimony of sister Morin, the valuable annalist of the Montreal Hospital, "M. de Laval, a great servant of God and a truly apostolic man, never offered violence to their feelings, but simply said that they would do him great pleasure if they yielded to his desires."

When he saw that his efforts were of no avail and that the Company of Montreal threatened to withdraw their charities to the hospital if it were not intrusted to the sisters of St. Joseph, he allowed the generous nuns to pursue their course and discharge their duties till further orders. They left Quebec on the 2nd of October in company of the Abbé Vignal. On the river, then almost the only means of communication, they met a vessel bearing the two sisters of the Quebec Hôtel Dieu, who had been recalled, their chaplain, M. de Saint-Sauveur, and the Abbé Souart, parish priest of Montreal.

Mlle. Mance had to tarry three weeks more until some young ladies who had come with her and were sick had entirely recovered.

Another affair of much greater consequence was to call forth the energetic action of the prelate. He had to assert his authority and have it acknowledged all over Canada. The title of bishop of

New France would have rendered his task much more easy, but he was bishop of Petræa and merely vicar-apostolic. Mother St. Ignace writes in the Annals of the Hôtel Dieu: "M. de Laval had hardly landed before discussions took place to know whom the religious communities were to obey, and we were much puzzled. For M. de Queylus had the powers of the archbishop of Rouen acknowledged until then as superior of the country, and some said that the said archbishop was above the vicar-apostolic. But after praying and taking advice from the learned, we submitted to Mgr. de Laval."

The reader may remember that M. de Queylus, when his powers were limited to Montreal by the archbishop of Rouen, had returned there. A couple of months after the coming of the vicar-apostolic, he came down to Quebec to pay him his homage. According to the *Journal* of the Jesuits he also intended to return to France, but changed his mind on the reception of letters from the archbishop of Rouen. One from François de Harlay himself renewed his powers of vicar-general, and another from the king allowed him to remain in Canada and discharge in that quality the duties of his office "without prejudice, however, to the jurisdiction of the vicar-apostolic. "The letter patent of the king was of the 11th of May, and had been obtained by the archbishop of Rouen, who in spite of the warnings of the Propaganda,

stuck more than ever to his pretensions beyond the sea.

Then the Abbé, "who had asserted that whatever letter or power he might receive, he would not accept it, and who had promised all possible friendship to M. de Pétrée, when he saw himself in possession of such important documents threw off the mask and did his utmost to be acknowledged as vicar-general of the archbishop of Rouen." But Mgr. de Laval was not taken unawares, as we shall presently see.

It is clear that in the French court there were two parties: Mazarin, Harlay and the Gallicans on the one side, and, on the other, the queen and the Jesuits. Finally the latter had the best of it. For, the same ship, the *St. André*, which had brought the plague-stricken colonists of Montreal and the letters of the 11th of May, carried also a letter patent of the king to Governor d'Argenson. It was of the 14th of May and entirely abrogated those of the 11th. On account of its importance, I quote it here in full:

"Mr. d'Argenson," said the king, "I have previously written to you, ordering you to second the bishop of Petræa in his Episcopal functions, according to the powers he has received from our Holy Father the Pope, who, on my demand, has made him a bishop, in order that he may without opposition discharge the duties thereof in all the extent of New France. I write presently to you,

not only to commend to your care the person of the said bishop, but to tell you that if the vicars of the archbishop of Rouen wish to exercise any act of jurisdiction, you must prevent them from doing so, and tell them that, whatever letters I may have granted to the said archbishop, my intention is that neither he, nor they, by his authority, make use of such letters, until it be declared by the authority of the Church whether the said archbishop has truly a right to claim that New France is in his diocese: for it is not commonly admitted that religion has been spread in that country under his, or his predecessors' authority. And even if it were admitted, and that, by such a fact, he would have acquired a right, our Holy Father the Pope does not believe it. And it would be a scandal if, in a new Church, the jurisdiction of him that God established Head of the Universal Church were brought into contestation. I know that some say that my authority is engaged, and, under the pretext of safeguarding it, the power of the Pope is injured. I will do my duty by keeping mine without infringing the other. What you have to do is to maintain the said bishop in the full exercise of his charge, whether he be considered as endowed with the episcopal character, or with the dignity of vicar-apostolic which I have obtained for him from his Holiness. But I desire that you manage things in such a manner that the vicars-general

of the archbishop may be satisfied with your conduct."

It has been written by the Abbé Faillon and by Kingsford, who follows in his footsteps, that the conflict between Bishop de Laval and M. de Queylus could not have taken place in our times, because the authority of the vicar-apostolic was not then understood as it is now.

But the letter of the king precisely shows that it was known at least by such as were not ignorant of canon law. Louis XIV said: "It would be a scandal if in a new Church the jurisdiction of him that God has established Head of the universal Church were brought into contestation."

He perfectly understood not only that to countenance the pretensions of Rouen was to raise bishop against bishop and erect altar against altar, but that to contest the authority of the vicar-apostolic was to contest that of the Pope himself. From a Catholic point of view the dispute between François de Laval and François de Harlay or his delegates was therefore of much greater import than a simple quarrel between two prelates. The authority of the Holy See was at stake, and Mgr. de Laval is to be praised for having sustained it, however severe his measures may be judged.

M. de Queylus was notified of the letters patent of the 14th of May which abrogated his powers. The *Journal* of the Jesuits simply adds: "He was

obliged to desist; but M. de Pétrée, who had now reason to distrust him, took upon himself the sovereign spiritual authority down here [in Quebec] and in Montreal—*disposa de tout icy-bas et à Montreal souverainement pour le spirituel.*"

A few lines further we read that on the 11th of September the Abbé de Queylus dined at the Jesuits' College with M. d'Allet and MM. Le Maistre and Vignal, recently arrived from France. It is proof that, in spite of such disputes about spiritual powers, good feeling was not altogether destroyed. On the 22nd of October the *Journal* mentions that the Abbé sailed for France in the company of Father Vimont and several others and that the ship, having been delayed in port, left only on the 26th.

In connection with this departure the excellent Abbé Faillon builds a theory on the words of the *Journal*, which I have quoted on purpose, that Mgr. de Laval "managed every thing sovereignly in spiritual matters down here [in Quebec] and in Montreal—*disposa de tout icy-bas et à Montreal souverainement pour le spirituel.* It is to be remarked that the style of the *Journal* is what is commonly called dog Latin and kitchen French. The sentence from which M. Faillon, by some unexplained inattention, has dropped the words—*pour le spirituel*—in spiritual matters—simply signifies that the bishop, instead of naming M. de Queylus his grand vicaire for Montreal, as he did

some years later, kept all the spiritual authority for himself. We see, for instance, in his report to the Holy See in 1660, that he intrusted with the parish the Abbé Souart, whom he found more disposed to obedience. The meaning for Abbé Faillon is that Mgr. de Laval acted in Montreal as a *sovereign* master and, among other things, had M. de Queylus removed by military hands from a field where he was doing so much good, and sent back to France. This certainly could be done by the command of the governor only, but would have been done on the urgent request of the bishop. If truly the Abbé de Queylus was arrested by a squad of soldiers and sent back to Europe, it can be said first that, in doing so, the governor merely obeyed the orders of the queen mother mentioned above. But was that act of violence necessary,—did it really take place?

M. Faillon himself admits that all the contemporaries keep silence about it. Did M. de Queylus ever return to Montreal after September 11th, 1659? There is no trace of such a voyage in the *Journal* of the Jesuits, which nevertheless mentions faithfully all his goings and comings. It is besides unlikely, although there was time enough for it, until the 22nd of October. The Abbé had come to Quebec with the intention of returning to France. His hopes having revived by the letters of the archbishop of Rouen, he had changed his mind, but when he saw all chances lost, is it not most

natural to conclude that he fulfilled his former design? This is in accordance with what Mgr. de Laval writes in his report to the Holy See in 1660: *In Galliam Ipse transfretavit, cum vellet jurisdictionem hic tueri Domini Archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, ab eoque potens auxilium speraret ut se vicarium ejus hic profiteretur, meamque Apostolici Vicarii jurisdictionem impediret.*—He returned to France *of his ownself*, because he was willing to sustain here the jurisdiction of Mgr. the archbishop of Rouen and he hoped for powerful help from that prelate and to be acknowledged here as his vicar and to hinder my own jurisdiction as vicar-apostolic."

These few lines, besides pointing out the importance of the disputed matter, show how and why the Abbé de Queylus returned to Europe: *Ipse transfretavit* cannot signify any thing else than: He returned *of his ownself*. Otherwise the pronoun *ipse*, himself, would be redundant, useless; certainly nobody crossed in his place! The motives of his returning prove that such was really the case: he returned because he hoped that the archbishop of Rouen would powerfully help him to assert himself as his vicar-general in New France.

A similar argument against the supposed violence offered to M. de Queylus may be taken from the letters of d'Argenson. The Abbé left on the 22nd of October. If the governor had been obliged to send soldiers to arrest him in Montreal and

put him *manu militari* aboard a ship, how could he write on the 21st of October: "The abbé has behaved well; he was satisfied with having some explanations with M. de Pétrée and afterwards abstained from all acts of jurisdiction?"

To say that the fact was too disgraceful to be openly mentioned, either by the Jesuits' *Journal* or by Governor d'Argenson and Bishop de Laval, is mere childishness. The *Journal* in its loose notations, not intended for publicity, was not so scrupulous. As for the two others, they clearly enough say the contrary.

The authority of the Abbé Faillon, in lamenting the misfortunes of M. de Queylus, is the *Memoir of M. d'Allet*, published in the works of the celebrated Jansenist Antoine Arnauld. The original of it, nobody has ever seen, save Arnauld. Is this sufficient reason to deny the *Memoir* all credit? No, because one witness, if above suspicion, certainly suffices to guarantee its authenticity. Is Antoine Arnauld such a witness? To contest his authority under pretense that he was a Jansenist, a foe of the Jesuits and of their friends, may be just in matters of faith or theological controversies. But he was a man of deep learning and of upright character: it is not easy to admit that he published a false, or falsified a true, historical document.

The only means then to harmonize such contradictory assertions, is to say that in the *Memoir* of d'Allet or in its reproduction by Arnauld, there

has been a confusion of dates and that to 1659 is attributed what truly happened in 1661. M. de Belmont, writing half a century later, has done just that in his *Histoire du Canada.* After having said that in 1659 M. de Queylus was notified by an officer at the head of a squad of soldiers that he must return to France, writes in 1661: M. de Queylus having come back *incognito* to Canada, *it was then that he was constrained to return.*

The reader may judge as he pleases. One thing remains certain: it was a right and even a duty for the vicar-apostolic to get rid of such an obstacle to the full exercise of his authority.

The next chapter will show that if the storm had abated it had not yet entirely subsided.

CHAPTER VII

STRIFE IN THE COLONY

WHEN M. de Queylus, willing or unwilling, had sailed for France, Mgr. de Laval, not entirely tranquillized, wrote to the French court to prevent his return to Canada. He also wrote to the Propaganda praying that no letter should be granted to countenance the pretensions of the archbishop of Rouen. He also took measures to establish his authority over the entire country.

M. de Lauson-Charny was named grand vicaire and official, M. de Torcapel, pastor of the Quebec parish; and the Abbé Souart, pastor of that of Montreal. In the fall of 1659, with the coöperation of the governor, an officer in command of a detachment of soldiers, on account of the continual incursions of the Iroquois, published in the chief parts of Canada the letter of the 14th of May and that of 31st of March, which ordered that any one who would refuse to submit to the vicar-apostolic should be sent back to France. The publication was made in Three Rivers on the 26th of October and likely in Montreal not long after.

In August, 1660, an ordinance of the bishop enjoined on all the secular priests in the country to reject all foreign jurisdiction and accept his

only, and to discharge no spiritual function but through the powers granted to himself by the Pope. They had also to sign that document, which they all did, even the Sulpicians who had remained in Montreal.

But in France, M. de Queylus did not remain inactive. His formal intention was to come back to Ville Marie as soon as possible. Unhappily for him a short but sharp letter of the king, on the 27th of February, 1660, forbade him to do so. "My will," said the king, "is that you remain in my kingdom, enjoining you not to leave it without my express permission." Notice was given of that order to Governor d'Argenson. At this juncture, M. de Bretonvilliers, superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and all the associates of Notre Dame de Montreal signed a declaration that all the ecclesiastics already residing in Ville Marie or to be sent there in future, would acknowledge no other jurisdiction than that of the vicar-apostolic. The document, although of perfect regularity, was of no avail in the case of M. de Queylus, who remained under suspicion. Then other means had to be resorted to. It was hoped to have Montreal erected into a canonical parish and to obtain for a member of the society, M. de Bretonvilliers or another, the right of naming to that benefice. And so Montreal would be in a certain measure independent of the vicar-apostolic. M. de Queylus was sent to Rome on that errand. The affair was

treated in an underhand manner without the knowledge of the papal nuncio in Paris and even of the Propaganda, which being intrusted with all foreign missions had jurisdiction over Canada and knew the state of the Church there. the *Dataria* was applied to. It is an office of the Roman *curia* specially charged with the collation of benefices, the examination of candidates thereto and the dispensation from the required conditions when the collation does not belong to an Ordinary. The *Dataria* alone therefore decided a question of such import for the spiritual welfare of New France and issued apostolical letters which entrusted to the archbishop of Rouen the care of ascertaining that there was a sufficient landed property for the maintenance of the future benefice. The letters were set down in such terms that the prelate could consider himself as the Ordinary of Canada. In that quality he delegated Mgr. de Laval to bestow on M. de Queylus the parish of Montreal. One can, at a distance of almost three centuries, see the smile of François de Harlay when he signed this commission. What a good trick had been played on his antagonist the bishop of Petræa! But it is not well to be hasty in singing: *Io triumphe!*

M. de Queylus, who had in Rome clandestinely achieved such a success, was still under the royal prohibition of leaving the kingdom without express permission. As this was not likely to be granted, the abbé determined to dispense with it

and sailed *incognito* for Canada in 1661. For fear that the ship might bring some despatches contrary to his views, as indeed happened, he took every means in his power to reach Quebec before her. He arrived in the beginning of August, 1661, and boldly called on the vicar-apostolic. The latter well aware that the letters apostolic establishing a parish in Montreal and naming M. de Queylus rector thereof, had been obtained surreptitiously and derogated from the authority directly conferred upon himself by the Sovereign Pontiff, refused, as it was his right and his duty, to acknowledge them until he had been clearly notified of the intentions of the Holy See.

Fearing that the presence of the abbé in Montreal might be a cause of trouble he endeavoured to prevent him from going up there, at first by his earnest entreaties, and when he saw that his prayers were of no avail, by a formal prohibition. He wrote besides, on the 4th of August, to Governor d'Argenson to ask his help in such a perplexing emergency. D'Argenson begged to be excused from taking any action. On the 5th, the bishop wrote again in a much more pressing way. Recalling to the governor the orders of the queen, on March 31st, 1659, the letters of the king on May 14th, 1659, the order of February, 27th, 1660, which forbade the Abbé de Queylus to leave France without permission, he continued: "Truly, Sir, it seems to me that it is more than sufficient

to engage you to grant me the help I require. My measure, although it may look otherwise to you and M. de Queylus, is the mildest that a bishop may take against an ecclesiastic who has already caused troubles in our Church and has left France against the will of the king signified to him even in the seaport, as I learn by the letters I received yesterday. I hope that the interests of the Divine and the human Majesties will have some effects on your mind."

But the governor was not willing to interfere, especially as he was not on friendly terms with the bishop, for reasons that shall have to be explained below. He had, besides, resigned his charge, and his successor, the Baron Dubois d'Avaugour, was at Percé and would soon arrive.

Left to himself the bishop had no other means of coercion than the spiritual weapons. He was obliged to use them, for, notwithstanding prayers and orders, the Abbé de Queylus, on the night of the 5th-6th of August stole away in a canoe for Montreal. On the 6th Mgr. de Laval wrote to the abbé: "As, since my last ordinance, I have heard that you intended to leave [for Montreal] as soon as possible, and even that, yesterday, you have left during the night, I reiterate my former prohibition and, in case you do not come back to Quebec to obey my orders, I declare you suspended from priestly functions; a penalty that you shall incur, if you proceed further."

The last words show that the letter was sent early enough to overtake the abbé on the river.

But whether he got it before or after his arrival at Montreal, the result was the same; the abbé heeded not the orders of the bishop and became in fact—*ipso facto*—suspended from his priestly functions, as saying mass, hearing confessions or ministering other sacraments.

The penalty was severe. But who knowing the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline could dare say that it was undeserved?

Kingsford, regarding what he considers as a "tyrannical exercise of power," says: "It is difficult to tell what danger M. de Laval anticipated to trouble the peace of the Church, or what complications he looked for personally embarrassing to himself. He was master of the situation." A few pages before he wrote: "One of the statements of the bishop was, that the presence of M. de Queylus would cause a schism in the Church. In 1660 he wrote to the Pope that neither abuse nor error existed in Canada." I have an idea that, with all his sincerity, the learned gentleman did not thoroughly understand what, from a catholic point of view, a schism is. Besides the fact that M. de Queylus was not in New France in 1660, there is no contradiction in the words of the bishop, for a schism is not the same as an error or a heresy. The latter is about matters of Faith, and the former, meaning simply *separation*, about

matters of jurisdiction and government. The War of the Roses was a political schism about the ownership of the crown of England, one part of the nation following the White Rose of York, and the other part the Red Rose of Lancaster. So it was in the Catholic Church when Urbain VI and Clement VII claimed authority over the whole Church and had each his followers. And so it would have been, on a smaller scale, if the archbishop of Rouen, represented by M. de Queylus, had retained jurisdiction over a territory which, by the orders of the Pope, was under the authority of Bishop de Laval. Then the latter would not have been "master of the situation."

It was just what had to be prevented. Governor d'Avaugour had orders to send the Abbé de Queylus back to France. His firmness and even roughness of temper are known. He merely did his duty, and as, on the other hand, the Abbé de Queylus for more than two months maintained an obstinate attitude and refused to obey his lawful bishop, it should not cause surprise if then took place the famous expulsion *manu militari*, by the hands of soldiers; but this is merely a conjecture, for M. de Belmont remarks only that in 1661 the Abbé de Queylus was *constrained* to return to France.

He sailed on the 22nd of October, the same date as two years before: and thus came to an end the cumbersome jurisdiction of Rouen.

Louis XIV, when informed by a letter of Mgr. de Laval of the dealings of M. de Queylus in Rome, sent to the Roman chancery, through the papal nuncio in Paris and his minister in Rome, the expression of his just discontent. The Holy See answered that the abbé must claim no rights whatever in the colony of Montreal, and forbade the execution of the letters apostolic he had obtained thereto.

To complete his history, the famous Abbé de Queylus was to come once more to Canada. He returned in 1668. The pretensions of François de Harlay were then things of the past. Mgr. de Laval, according to his own expressions, received him *in visceribus Christi*, that is to say, in the charity of Christ, and even honoured him by the charge of grand vicaire in Montreal; an excellent proof that there was no personal animosity. In 1671 having gone to France, his health gave way and he could not return. He died in 1677. It cannot be denied that he was a man of great ability who contributed much to the progress of Ville Marie. Had he not fallen into that network of the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Rouen, he would have left an unblemished memory.

That affair of jurisdiction, on account of its vital import, has thrown all other facts into the shade. But along with the main battle took place several skirmishes which, although of lesser consequence, must find place here because they have

been an occasion of aspersing the character of Mgr. de Laval.

They began by a quarrel with Governor d'Argenson about the respective place of his and the bishop's seats in the church. What the pretensions of M. d'Argenson were exactly is unknown; but, from the decision given in the case by the late Governor d'Ailleboust, it seems that he pretended to a seat in the sanctuary. The governors, for scarcity of space as much as for their dignity, had likely enjoyed such a privilege when the parochial offices took place in the house of the Hundred Associates, and they continued afterwards when the church was opened to worship in 1657. It cannot be supposed that d'Argenson wished to have precedency over the vicar-apostolic, even in the church, but simply equality of rank, as some forty years later Callières with Mgr. de Saint Vallier. The general rule of Catholic discipline is that the chancel is for clerks only. Mgr. de Laval stuck to the rule and d'Ailleboust, admitted as arbiter, decided that the seat of the bishop should be inside, and that of the governor outside, of the railing, in the centre.

But outside the church, who had the precedence, the bishop or the governor? It was a burning question. According to an ordinance of Louis XIII, it seems that Mgr. de Laval should have had it. The document, dated 1635 and still in force at the time, says: "It is His Majesty's will that the

ecclesiastical order be kept in its ancient splendour and dignity, and, therefore that the archbishops, and bishops in their diocese precede, in all meetings general or particular, the governors who are not of royal blood, the presidents of parliament and all others of whatever dignity they may be. . . . It is, besides, His Majesty's will that the ecclesiastics be honourably treated by all officers as being of the first order in the kingdom." But was Mgr. de Laval in his diocese? Strictly speaking, he was not. As simple vicar-apostolic, he had properly no cathedral, no right to a throne in his church. D'Argenson relied precisely on that to refuse him the first place, while, to claim it, Mgr. de Laval relied, not without good reasons, on the ordinance of Louis XIII and on the letters of the queen mother, March, 31st, 1659, which ordered d'Argenson to treat him as an ordinary bishop.

"We intend," said Anne of Austria, "the king my son and myself, that his jurisdiction be of the ordinary extent, such as all other bishops are wont to have."

In the letter of May 14th, 1659, the king in his turn said to d'Argenson: "What you have to do is to maintain the said bishop [Mgr. de Laval] in the full exercise of his functions, whether he is considered as endowed with the episcopal character or with the vicariate-apostolic I have obtained for him from His Holiness."

That these questions of precedency and etiquette

even nowadays are of a delicate nature in social life, every one knows who has had to invite to any celebration people of high station in Church or State. But at that time they were matters of leading importance. In the present case, as it could not be clearly decided, the Jesuits were much perplexed. On the feast of St. François-Xavier, 3rd of December, 1659, for fear of displeasing either party, they invited to dinner neither the bishop nor the governor. But a year later, in February, 1661, they instituted a compromise which had but a half success. At a public dispute on catechism the governor was prevailed upon to be present, on the assurance that there would be no salutations. The pupils had their hands busied with some exercise and were forbidden any form of welcome. But two contrived to break through orders and saluted the governor first. The poor Jesuits had to soothe as well as they could the indignant bishop, and the two disobedient boys got a whipping.

Several other causes contributed to increase ill-feeling.

At Christmas, during midnight mass and on the day of celebration, the deacon, instead of offering incense himself to the governor, sent, to do so, the subordinate incense bearer. That it was by the order of the bishop, is an invention; the *Journal* of the Jesuits says nothing of that kind. Anyhow M. d'Argenson felt greatly offended.

Having even examined with his own eyes, in the *Ceremonial of the Bishops*, what his rights were, he found that the rule was that he should be offered incense immediately after the bishop. Then he required to be incensed not only before the clergy, according to his right but by the priest who *assisted in cope*, and offered incense to the officiating prelate. Mgr. de Laval categorically refused both; one as beyond the rule, and the other as contrary to the use of France, and to what had been done here since the church was opened. The Jesuits, invited to decide the case, made a settlement that the *Journal* does not reproduce, saying only: "It shall be found in the archives." It has remained unknown, but from the text it can be easily deduced that the governor was granted what he had a right to,—that is to say, to be offered incense immediately after the bishop, but only by the deacon.

Then came a clashing about *blessed bread*, an ancient custom abolished some fifty years ago. It consisted in the offering, on Sundays, of some round loaves of sweetened bread that were placed in the chancel and received, after the aspersion of Holy water, a special benediction. The poor offered common loaves, but the wealthy, chiefly on solemn feasts, gloried in giving, sometimes at great cost, pyramids of sweet cakes coated with sugar. After the blessing, the bread was cut into pieces, which the beadle afterwards distributed to

the congregation. The upper piece, called the *chanteau*, was sent to him who had to furnish the bread on the next Sunday. Sometimes dignitaries and friends of the giver received choice pieces. It was altogether much more an opportunity for vanity and jealousies than a remembrance,—as it was intended to be,—of the *agapæ* of the primitive Church. The excesses mentioned above seem not to have taken place, at least on the same scale, in olden times, as we see that in 1646 Father Lalemant stripped from the blessed bread the festoons and ribbons with which Mme. Marsolet, who offered it, had judged proper to enhance its appearance. But when the governor furnished the bread it had become the custom to bring it into the church during mass to the sound of drums and fifes. Mgr. de Laval judged,—and many nowadays would not judge otherwise,—that such music was more fit for the guardhouse than for the house of God, and he refused to sanction the practice. Therefore, at Easter, 1660, a quarrel ensued, which, according to the *Journal*, was allayed by the decision that in future the bread to be blessed should be brought into the church before mass; then at least the rattling of drums and whistling of fifes would not interrupt or trouble divine service.

Some time afterwards the governor again felt deeply offended. It was on the Sunday in the octave of Corpus Christi, on the great procession

which takes place outdoors, when the weather is fine. The procession was to go first to the lower town, and then ascend to the fort where an altar, or *reposoir*, had been prepared, afterwards to the Ursulines' and the Jesuits,' and then return to the parochial church. Mgr. de Laval had required that the soldiers should be bareheaded, which was granted. When he came near the fort's *reposoir* he saw that the guard was indeed uncovered but standing. He sent word that if they did not kneel down he would not stop at the altar. The governor, vexed, answered that the soldiers standing were in the right attitude. And then the bishop did not carry the Sacrament to the *reposoir*. It gave rise to much talk on both sides. The *Journal* adds: "What appears to be most certain is that on such occasion the king's guards kneel down on one knee without removing their hats. This matter should have been previously elucidated and agreed upon." The remark is most judicious.

Now when ill-feeling is once aroused the simplest things become an occasion of strife. And so between d'Argenson and Mgr. de Laval, when fire seemed quenched at one point it rekindled at another. The next contestation was perhaps more surprising. We do not read in the *Journal* that the governor ever aspired to the office of sexton; it is likely an omission. But it is written in clear terms that a churchwarden he intended to be. His predecessor, d'Ailleboust, had been elected church-

warden *ex officio*, not, that is to say, really to fill the charge, but only for honour's sake, during his term as governor. There is no trace of such an election for de Lauson, d'Argenson, or any other governor until 1693, when Frontenac was offered and accepted the title. D'Argenson however assumed the quality. This was contrary to both civil and ecclesiastical law. In November, 1660, in a meeting of churchwardens, the bishop stated that the governor was no longer an honourary churchwarden. Two days later, d'Argenson, who unhappily had not been notified, came to a meeting with his ordinary suite, and there, says the *Journal*, asserted his right to the office, declaring that the bishop had not the power of removing him. Words were uttered that were not very respectful to the position of the prelate, and which gave rise to still greater mutual dissatisfaction.

That affair about churchwardens had been preceded by another which probably caused it. The governor had deprived the churchwardens of their place in the processions and put in front of them the gentlemen, or those self-styled thus. There was trouble about it, which ended in the prohibition of processions and by exclusion of the governor from churchwardens' meetings.

But much greater uproar burst out from an event to which mysterious circumstances lent special interest. It was a case of diabolical posses-

sion in conjunction with witchcraft. Both things to-day find little credit. But the Gospel and the history of Simon the Magician in the Acts of the Apostles, besides many historical facts, proved by trustworthy witnesses and the avowal of the culprits themselves, show forth serious reasons to admit their reality. Catholic theologians teach that these supernatural interventions are not to be admitted save on unexceptionable evidence and give rules to discover frauds. Let us add that even those who do not believe in such facts, must, to judge the present case fairly, consider it in its epoch, when nobody doubted its possibility.

One Barbe Hallé, a young girl of about nineteen, then living in the seigniory of Beauport, was being wooed by a miller who had come from France on the same ship as she and her parents. According to Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, he was a Calvinist whom Mgr. de Laval had converted, but the conversion, if we are to believe Father Ragueneau, was merely a mock one, for he soon returned to his old tenets. As he was, besides, a man of loose morals, his pretensions were rejected. Soon afterwards, the girl was at first visited, and afterwards completely possessed, by evil spirits. From several facts that could not be naturally explained, the possession was judged real. The Jesuits and the bishop himself went to Beauport to recite the prayers of exorcism over her, but all in vain. As her home was some distance away,

MARIE DE L'INCARNATION

From a print in the Public Archives of Canada

Mgr. de Laval, in order that the poor creature should be more easily attended to, ordered her to be brought, in December, 1660, to Quebec and to be entrusted to the charitable care of Sister Catherine de St. Augustin, of the Hôtel Dieu. By the prayers and the merits of that pious nun, Barbe Hallé, after two years, recovered from her sad condition. As for the miller, he was accused of having caused the possession by charms, on the plausible reason that, in her fits, the poor girl always saw him, sometimes alone, sometimes with others, whom she named although she never knew them. Some time after, he, too, was brought to Quebec and cast into prison. His name is not given, either by Ragueneau or by Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, or by the *Journal*, when it relates the case of Barbe Hallé. But in comparing the different texts it is clear that he is the famous prisoner mentioned by the *Journal* in February, 1661, about whom the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, nearly came to extremities. His name was Daniel Will, and he is described as a relapsed heretic, a blasphemer and a profaner of the sacraments. Both tribunals, the Church and the State, claimed the right of judging him. He was in fact judged and convicted before the ecclesiastical officiality and then given up to secular justice according to the laws of the time. He had, besides, likely traded brandy with the savages, because the *Journal*, mentioning that he was shot

in October, under Governor d'Avaugour, and that two others were punished in the meantime, bears on the margin: "Executions for having traded."

Another thing about which d'Argenson bitterly complained in one of his numerous letters, is that the bishop "carried away from the house of M. Denis a servant girl whom he placed of his own authority in the convent of the Ursulines, on the sole pretext of having her instructed." As Denis had brought that servant from France at great cost, he made a request to the governor that she should be returned to him. Father Lalemant interfered in his behalf, but the bishop would not yield, and, had not an accommodation been brought about by M. d'Argenson, a scandalous law suit might have followed. Such is the story as given by d'Argenson, who closed his account with the words: "And all from the self-will of the bishop of Petræa who says that a bishop can do what he likes and threatens nothing but excommunication."

These last words are an evident exaggeration. Mgr. de Laval knew better than any one that a bishop cannot do what he likes, because there are rules and laws with which even he has to comply, and chiefly in handling the weapon of excommunication. What were the motives of his action, is not known. Without invoking reasons of morality, which might well have been at the bottom, the simple motive attributed to the bishop by the governor is sufficient: "On the sole pretext to have

her instructed." The girl may have manifested the desire of being instructed and perhaps of becoming a nun, and it was then a duty of charity to favour her good desire. But it would have been easy in that case, and much better, previously to have made an agreement with Denis, who could not reasonably oppose. Be that as it may, it is no temerity to assume that a man of the character of Mgr. de Laval did not act on slight motives in a matter of such consequence.

Such a state of continual antagonism between the two great powers in the colony was to be sincerely regretted. Who was responsible for it? There was wrong on both sides. Having recalled some of these conflicts in accordance with the *Journal* of the Jesuits, which he sometimes misinterprets, Parkman concludes: "The bishop, it will be seen, was by the showing of his friends, in most cases, the aggressor."

The facts have been fairly exposed, the reader may see that in almost every case, the bishop was in accordance with right, rule and common sense. But even so, it cannot be denied that he could and should have used more condescension when neither faith nor the serious interests of religion were in the least threatened. D'Argenson had deep religious feelings. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, with whom he was on most friendly terms and whom he frequently visited, bears witness to his love of justice, his piety, his virtue, his bravery,

his devotedness to the welfare of the country. Much could have been obtained from him by kindness. But he was a man, and it is a very simple observation, which unhappily Parkman did not understand, that his intercourse with Mgr. de Laval having been of the bitter sort described above, it is not in his correspondence that one may hope to find an impartial appreciation of the bishop: no more than of a Whig minister in a Tory newspaper. His health became greatly impaired, according to the same celebrated nun, because of the inability to check the Iroquois. He resigned his office and returned to France in September, 1661. As for Mgr. de Laval, an explanation of his peremptory severity may be found in the fact that he was young, zealous and was vested with authority for the first time. He could not bear the least thing that might look like an encroachment on the rights of the Church. Experience was to teach him that the iron rod, if sometimes useful, is not the best instrument with which to govern men. He was to do better service in his fight against the brandy traders, and found nobler objects for his energy in the organization of his Church and in the creation of his grand works of education.

CHAPTER VIII

ENEMIES OF THE COLONY

NEW France was developing very slowly. Father Ragueneau said in a letter of August, 1658: "At Montreal there are only two hundred souls; at Three Rivers, three hundred, comprising men, women and children, all ministered to by two of our fathers. Quebec, with the neighbouring hamlets, numbers only twelve hundred." It must be added that, of the twelve hundred, more than half belonged to the neighbourhood, for the census of Talon in 1666 gives only 555 souls to Quebec and 584 to Montreal. In Quebec, in 1660, according to the beautiful plan published by Abbé Faillon, the population lived mostly in the lower town. In the upper town a notable part of the ground was occupied by the communities, the Ursulines, the Hôtel Dieu, the Jesuits and by the parochial church. On the north-east side was a large vacant field bounded by the brink of the cape. It belonged to Guillaume Couillard and was part of the fief of Sault au Matelot, conceded to his father-in-law, Louis Hébert, by the Duke of Montmorency in 1623. The concession had been ratified in 1626 by the Duke of Ventadour. It extended to the river, comprising the valuable

beach on which are now the wharves of Louise Basin. On the hill, where afterwards were built the Seminary of Quebec and Laval University, stood the little house of the first Canadian *habitant*, whom Chrestien Leclercq has called the Abraham of the colony.

For a complete idea of the country at that epoch nothing is more precious and more precise than the reports to the Holy See written in Latin by Mgr. de Laval in 1660 and 1664. In a few clear and concise pages he describes the colony, the inhabitants, the climate, the natural resources, the condition of morality among the French and the natives. Religious matters naturally first draw his attention: the number of the churches, the faithful, the priests, the religious communities; the state of sacred vases and vestments, generally rich on account of the piety of the king and of the many benefactors from France. He remarks with evident pleasure that divine worship is performed here according to the Roman rite and with great decency, and that the churches are suitable and cleanly kept.

But churches were very scarce. In 1660, in the region of Quebec eight were to be found, only six of which were stone buildings: in the little city itself, the parish church dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. It had replaced on the same site, but not quite in the same position, the wooden church of Notre Dame de Recouvrance, built by

Champlain in thanksgiving for the recovery of Canada, in 1632, and burnt with the priest-house in 1640. Although Father Poncet officiated in it for the first time in 1650, it was definitely opened to worship only in 1657. The churches of the Jesuits, the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu and the Ursulines were also built of stone. So were those of the mission St. Joseph of Sillery and of Château-Richer in the district of Beaupré. About six miles below the latter is the chapel of St. Anne du Petit Cap, not on the site chosen by the Abbé Vignal in the name of M. de Queylus, but on an adjoining ground bought by Bishop de Laval. It was only a poor wooden structure, but already enriched with heavenly favours. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation wrote: "Seven leagues hence is a village called the 'Petit Cap' where is a church of St. Anne in which our Lord works great marvels in honour of that blessed mother of the Holy Virgin. There the crippled are seen to walk, the blind to see, and the sick of any kind to recover perfect health."

On Cote Ste. Geneviève, now St. John's suburb, was also a wooden chapel, built at his own expense by Jean Bourdon. In Three Rivers, there was only one wooden church, dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. In Montreal also a similar church, sacred to St. Joseph and belonging to the hospital.

A stone church had been built at Tadoussac by

the Jesuits for the numerous neophytes who gathered there.

Several localities, as Beaupré, Beauport, the Island of Orleans, Sainte Geneviève, St. François-Xavier and Cape Rouge—not the vale, but the shore where now towers the gigantic Quebec bridge—had a sufficient number of inhabitants to form parishes. But, save in Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, there were no houses for priests.

As for the hamlets, scattered here and there, a missionary, bearing on his back all the requisites for mass and the sacraments, visited them, to preach, hear confessions and bless marriages.

There were only twenty-six priests in all, of whom sixteen were Jesuits. Of the ten others, four, the Sulpicians Souart, Galinée, Vignal and Le Maître, discharged parochial duty in Montreal. Six lived with the bishop: MM. de Lauson-Charny, Torcapel, Pèlerin, Saint Sauveur and Le Bey, with young Henri de Bernières, the first priest ordained in Canada, February, 1660. Minor orders had been conferred on him in December, 1659, and, at the same mass, Germain Morin had received the tonsure. Morin was raised to the priesthood in 1665, and was the first priest born in Canada. According to the *Journal* of the Jesuits, he must have been clever in music, for, on the 1st of January, 1665, is found this too brief note: "In the evening we invited the Sieurs Morin and Joliet, our musicians, to supper." Joliet was the future

THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC, 1761

Drawn on the spot by Richard Short

discoverer of the Mississippi. But he also for a while had ecclesiastical aims.

Of these priests, M. Torcapel, who had been in charge of the parish of Quebec, and M. Pèlerin, unable to bear the Canadian climate, returned to France in the fall of 1661. But they were replaced by M. Thomas Morel, who became parish priest of Château-Richer and besides ministered the sacraments, with indefatigable zeal, by turns, in all the district of Beaupré, in the island of Orleans and the seigniory of Lauson. In 1663, with Mgr. de Laval returning from France, came Ango des Maizerets and Hugues Pommier; the latter believing himself to be a painter just as did the Récollet, Brother Luke, but perhaps with less skill. He returned to France when he saw that his talents were not appreciated according to their worth. Ango des Maizerets was a most distinguished priest, and with Henri de Bernières, held in turns, for almost half a century the charge of superior in the Seminary of Quebec: Jean Dudouyt, who followed, was to be the bishop's right arm in the management of his affairs.

Henri de Bernières was, after M. Torcapel, entrusted with the parish of Quebec and became vicar-general. It must be added that the Quebec parish was canonically erected only in 1664 and comprised all the neighbouring villages; so much so that the *habitants* of Sainte Foy, who had a church of their own, where they worshipped and

where their children were baptised, having refused to furnish the blessed bread in Quebec, were condemned to a fine.

One of the first cares of M. de Bernières was the construction of a priest-house. Begun in 1660, it was finished in the fall of 1663, at the cost of eight thousand livres, of which two thousand were generously contributed by Mgr. de Laval. The rest came from the community of the *habitants*. It was a solid stone house, well built and situated just on the same spot as the present priest-house of the upper town.

After the clergy, the bishop mentioned in his report the religious communities, whose zeal and devotedness brought such help to the priests in their labours. There were two in Quebec. The Ursulines, to the number of sixteen, devoted themselves to the instruction of girls, French and Indian, under the saintly direction of Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, whom Bossuet called the Theresa of New France. The sisters of the Hôtel Dieu, fifteen in number, attended the sick and the poor. They all practised a great austerity of life, sleeping in dormitories, working in cells, where fire was unknown until the middle of the last century; rising at four in the morning, spending long hours in prayer and the rest of the day at the bedside of the suffering or in the class-room, and teaching the little ones.

Montreal possessed also two communities. Three

sisters of St. Joseph of La Flèche kept the hospital, while the congregation of Notre Dame, then in its beginnings and destined to such a marvellous expansion, attended to the instruction of children, both girls and boys.

On nuns, priests, Jesuit missionaries, Mgr. de Laval bestowed the greatest and most deserved encomiums. He also highly praised, among the people, the great purity of morals and the integrity of the Faith.

But there was a dark spot in the picture, and more than one. The population was divided into two chief classes: the farmers, or *habitants*, who led a simple, labourious life, and the merchants, among whom could be found some staunch Christians, but many more adventurers greedy of gain.

To the latter the bishop alluded when he wrote: "Almost all seek temporal interests only, although in France the most Christian King and a number of distinguished persons have nothing so much at heart as the propagation of the Gospel."

In their eagerness to secure furs from the poor Indians, the traders resorted to all means, good or evil, honest or not. They chiefly profited by the extraordinary propensity of the natives for strong liquors. The Jesuits' *Relations* frequently speak of the plague of drunkenness among the Indians. It not only prevented the diffusion of the Gospel, but destroyed the work of evangelization already done. A drunkard is always a disgusting sight, but

an intoxicated Indian became a monster beyond all imagination. Let it suffice to quote a few lines from the *Relation* of 1659-1660. Father Jerome Lalemant wrote: "Those who have mingled somewhat with the savages (I speak only of those living near our settlements) are well aware that drink is a demon that robs them of their reason, and so inflames their passions that, after returning from the chase richly laden with beaver skins, instead of furnishing their families with provisions, clothing, and other necessary supplies, they drink away the entire proceeds in one day and are forced to pass the winter in nakedness, famine, and all sorts of deprivation. There have been some whose mania was so extraordinary that, after stripping themselves of everything for liquor, they sold even their own children to obtain the means of intoxication. Children, too, when they are overcome with drink, beat their parents without being punished for it; young men use it as a philter, corrupting the girls after making them drunk; those that have any quarrels pretend to be intoxicated, in order to wreak vengeance with impunity. Every night is filled with clamors, brawls, and fatal accidents, which the intoxicated cause in the cabins. Everything is permitted them, for they give as a satisfactory excuse that they were bereft of reason at the time; hence one cannot conceive the disorders which this diabolical vice has caused in this new Church. We found neither

time to instruct them, nor means to inspire them with horror of this sin; for they were always in a state of intoxication or of beggary, that is, either incapable of listening, or constrained to go in quest of food in the woods."

Mother Marie de l'Incarnation is perhaps still more severe: "I have spoken to you," writes she to her son, "of a cross more heavy to me than all the hostilities of the Iroquois. Here it is. There are in this country Frenchmen so wretched and so fearless of God that they deprave our new Christians by giving them very strong liquors, such as wine and brandy, to extort from them beaver skins. These liquors ruin those poor people: men, women, boys and even girls; because, for eating and drinking, every one is master in the cabin; they soon get intoxicated and become infuriated. They run everywhere, naked, with swords and other weapons in hand, set every body to flight, either by day or by night; they run through Quebec and there is no power to prevent them. Hence happen murders, rapes, and other monstrous and unheard of brutalities."

The Indians themselves realized the peril they were in from strong drink, and more than once some of their chiefs entreated the French authorities to forbid among their tribesmen the trade in what they called so properly, not *eau-de-vie*, life-water, but *eau-de-feu*, fire-water. We read in the *Relation* of 1642, that when Father Richard

visited the Micmacs of Miscou, they expressed their desire of having with them a permanent missionary and said to him: "Write to France, and tell the Captains to send ships here and not to send us any more of those poisons that destroy us, that take away our senses, and cause us untimely death."

Even the Mohawks, when, humbled by the expedition of Courcelle, seriously began to accept the Christian doctrine, they perceived, according to the words of the *Relation* of 1668-1669, "that there was in their midst a foreign demon, more to be feared than those that they worshipped in their dreams. The demon is the intoxicating liquor that was coming from New Orange." They held a public council and sent a petition to the governor of Manhattan in order to stop "those disorders that were utterly ruining both the Faith and the bodies of their youth."

Champlain and his successors, perfectly understanding what a danger for the poor Indians intoxicating liquors were, had forbidden their sale to them. The same prohibition had been maintained by the Quebec Council, but despite orders and punishments, the baleful trade was continued clandestinely. A decree of the Royal State Council in 1657 had no better effect. In all times the execrable thirst for gold—*auri sacra fames*— has allured men out of the path of duty; disorders had come to an excess that called for severe measures. After

having consulted with his clergy upon the question "whether it was a sin to sell liquors to the Indians," the bishop determined to strike a heavy blow. In the winter of 1660, he fulminated excommunication against all the French that would sell intoxicating liquors to the Indians. According to the *Relation* of 1659-1660, that drastic action suppressed all the disorders: "They have not broken out again since the excommunication, so richly has it received Heaven's blessing. This result so surprised our better and more discreet savages that they came expressly to thank Mgr. de Petræa on behalf of their entire Nation, acknowledging to him that they could not sufficiently admire the power of his word, which had accomplished in a moment what had been so long attempted in vain."

Unhappily such a happy state of things did not last long. An act of the new governor, the Baron Dubois d'Avaugour, who had succeeded d'Argenson in September, 1661, destroyed it all. That governor, as all our other governors, was a man of sincere piety and great personal bravery. Having spent most of his life in the army, he was an enemy to show and ceremony, loyal and plain-spoken, but had also a military stiffness which easily became stubbornness. He had at first favoured the measures for the repression of the liquor trade. But a woman having been cast into prison for having sold brandy to the savages, Father Jerôme Lalemant, through charity, had the imprudence

to intercede in her behalf with the governor. Stung with anger, d'Avaugour exclaimed: "If to sell liquors is not a fault for that woman, it shall be fault for no one!" And afterwards he could not for any reason, be brought to withdraw his heedless and noxious word. Full liberty was thus granted to liquor traders. Disorders soon became worse than ever, to the great sorrow of the bishop, the Jesuits and all right-thinking people. Some Indian chiefs, after having done their best to stop the evil, even went to d'Avaugour himself to urge him to enforce his former ordinances, but they could not prevail against his obstinate will. An Algonquin captain went to the Ursulines to complain: "The governor kills us," he said, "by allowing liquors to be sold to us." As the nuns told him to speak to M. d'Avaugour himself, he answered: "I have twice spoken to him, but he would not listen."

In Montreal, M. de Maisonneuve, who had always prohibited the deadly trade, found himself in a very awkward position. However, one Michel Louvard *dit* Desjardins, having been killed on his very threshold by a drunken Indian, he profited by that accident to renew his prohibitions. In his ordinance he skilfully relied upon d'Avaugour's own former ordinances; and in virtue of the powers conferred upon him by the king, he forbade all persons, of whatever quality or condition, to sell liquors to the Indians. The measure greatly in-

censed the governor, and, in himself more of a rough soldier than of a gentleman, he lost afterwards no opportunity to humble and degrade the worthy Maisonneuve, who, imbued with strong Sulpician principles, did not even say a word in his own defense.

Things being at such a deadlock, it became necessary for Bishop de Laval to enforce the sentence of excommunication, which had for some time been suspended. The obscure expressions of the *Journal*: "*On fut obligé de relever l'excommunication* on account of extraordinary troubles and disorders," have been by some writers understood in the sense that the excommunication was removed. But it suffices to refer to the *Mandements* of Quebec, to see that the meaning is that it was *set up* again or renewed.

But it was of no avail, the disturbances grew worse than ever. "The French," says Marie de l'Incarnation, "have despised the remonstrances of our prelate, because they are supported by the civil power." According to Charlevoix, "men gave no heed to bishop, preacher or confessor."

While the colony was weakened by this plague of drunkenness, a foe, much more dangerous yet, threatened her with utter destruction. The Iroquois who had almost entirely destroyed the Hurons in 1649 pursued the unhappy remainder of the tribe to the island of Orleans, where they had quietly lived for some years. Falling unawares upon them

when working in the fields, they massacred a great number, carried off sixty as prisoners and were bold enough to pass, their canoes in battle order, under the very walls of Quebec, in full daylight, shouting and singing songs of victory. Indignant, the French, despite their small numbers, were willing to follow after and fight the insolent marauders, but M. de Lauson, then governor, seeing how futile it would be, would not allow it. To save the remainder of the unfortunate nation, Governor d'Ailleboust built for them in Quebec a fort, which is to be seen near fort St. Louis on the sketch map of 1660. But emboldened by success and impunity the dreaded barbarians even thought of destroying the French themselves. They infested the colony, lay in ambush everywhere, remaining sometimes in a hiding place a whole day in order to fall unexpectedly upon the chosen victim, a poor farmer in his field or a traveller in his canoe.

In the spring of 1660, it was rumoured that an army of eight hundred Iroquois was encamped at Roche Percée not far from Montreal, expecting four hundred other warriors to attack and destroy Ville Marie. Then took place one of the most romantic episodes of Canadian history, a feat equal to the heroism of Leonidas at Thermopylæ. Seventeen young men of Montreal determined to save their city from the threatened danger, even at the cost of their lives.

They prepared as for imminent death and, few

as they were, set out in canoes to encounter the host of the enemy. Forty Hurons, headed by the brave chief Anahotaha, and six Algonquins asked to join the small troop. The enemy was found at the Long Sault, on the river Ottawa. Dollard des Ormeaux, who commanded the French, sheltered his little band in a fort of half rotten wooden stakes, built the previous year by some Algonquins at a little distance from the river. There during ten days they withstood the assaults of seven hundred Iroquois, inflicting upon them great losses at each attack. But they had no water and could secure it from the river only at the sword's point. It soon became impossible to reach it and they had to swallow dry the maize flour which formed their only dish. In the end, thirty of the Indians, disheartened by thirst, hunger and the overwhelming number of the besiegers, began to parley and surrendered, but the brave Anahotaha and the remaining few kept faithful to Dollard and his companions. Finally a barrel of powder having by accident exploded in the fort and killed some of its heroic defenders, the rest blinded by smoke, could no longer resist a furious charge which stormed the wretched palisade. They were all cruelly butchered, with the exception of five French and four Hurons who were dragged away to be tortured, with the thirty traitors as well, in the Iroquois villages.

But the colony was saved. The enemy seeing

what heavy losses he had suffered from a handful of brave men, durst not attack Montreal or Quebec. They continued, however, their warfare of ambushes and ruthlessly murdered many of the inhabitants. In the year 1661 more than one hundred persons fell victims to their treacherous strokes. All these lives were precious, owing to the scarcity of men in the colony, but some of the losses were most deeply felt, such as the death of the grand Seneschal Jean de Lauson, son of the late governor. He was on his way to warn his brother-in-law, M. de l'Espinay, against the danger of being overtaken by the Iroquois, when, surprised himself at the river Maheu, in the island of Orleans, he was killed with his seven or eight companions. An event still more to be regretted was the slaying of the major of Ville Marie, Lambert Closse, whose bravery had so frequently saved the Montreal colonists from their terrible foe. Among other distinguished victims must be numbered two Sulpicians, MM. Le Maistre and Vignal, also cruelly murdered.

Mgr. de Laval, however, was not of a cast to be diverted from his duties by danger. He visited his vicariate with the simplicity of a bishop of the olden times, preaching the word of God, conferring confirmation, imparting to the faithful the blessings of his apostolic ministry. During the winter of 1659 he travelled over the district of Beaupré on snow-shoes. During the summer he went to Mon-

treal in a canoe with only one priest and one or two servants, enduring joyfully the fatigues and the privations inevitable in such a voyage. He was sincere when he wrote to Pope Alexander VII: Happy if we die in the service of God—*Felices si in Dei causa moriamur.*

On his way back, he met a flotilla of sixty canoes bearing three hundred Ottawas, among whom was Father Ménard with his faithful companion Jean Guérin. The courageous missionary, already bent by the weight of years and labours, seemed somewhat despondent, as under a foreboding of his future fate. He candidly asked of the bishop: "My Lord, am I to pursue my voyage?" Mgr. de Laval answered: "My good Father, humanly speaking, every reason is to retain you here. But God, stronger than all the rest, wishes you in that distant region." Father Ménard said afterwards: "What a comfort these words of a saintly prelate were to me! What a consolation in my pains, fatigues, privations! It is the will of God that I be here!" The sad end of the heroic Jesuit is known. Among the gross and vicious tribes of Canada, the Ottawas were the grossest and the most vicious. The old missionary's work among them availed nothing; he met only indifference, insults and rebuffs of all kind. Left to himself, seven or eight hundred miles from Quebec, he determined to go to a group of Hurons stationed two or three hundred miles further away; but

having lost his way he died an unknown death in the forest. He had not even the soothing help of Jean Guérin, who searched for him in vain. News of the sad event reached Quebec only two years later.

Mgr. de Laval visited Three Rivers in October of that same year and spent ten days there. He saw with his own eyes what was required to establish a church on the shores of the St. Lawrence. One of his objects when he determined, in 1662, to bear to the foot of the throne the grievances and wants of New France, was to obtain from the king all the requisites for such an organization. But he had several others, as the next chapter will show, and above the rest he was decided to find a means of checking the deadly liquor trade. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, well aware of such matters, after having described the disorders caused by drunkenness among the natives and the efforts of the bishop to stop them, concludes her letter to her son by these most eloquent lines: "Things being in that extremity, he sails for France to find means of checking such disorders, the source of so many sad accidents.He nearly died from grief and we can see him withering away on that account. I believe that, if he cannot fulfill his design, he will not come back, which would be for this new church and all our poor French colonists, an irretrievable loss. He makes himself poor to assist them; and to tell in one word

what I think of his merit, he bears all the marks and the character of a saint. I beseech you to pray and to ask others to commend to our Lord such an important matter, that it please him to render to us our good prelate, a father and a true pastor of the souls entrusted to him.

"You see, my letter speaks only of the affair I have so much at heart, because I see the Majesty of God dishonoured, the Church despised and souls in evident danger of eternal loss."

We shall see that the bishop's voyage was to work a great success

CHAPTER IX

ACHIEVEMENTS OF MGR. DE LAVAL

KINGSFORD has written: "Bishop de Laval failed entirely to grasp the true position of Canada. He was constantly battling for opinions and views which modern statesmen of mind and genius would call secondary if not petty; while the broad natural policy, distinctly marked out in that hour of trial, obtained from him no consideration. . . . M. de Laval and the men of his class have no desire for the prosperity of a country unless they can direct and control it. . . . It is to such as these that the loss of Canada to France must be attributed." Our Molière would have concluded:

Voila, Monsieur, pourquoi votre fille est muette—
That is the reason, sir, why your daughter is dumb.

I do not intend in the least to discuss such assertions. Let us simply and briefly set the facts before the reader. Some have already been mentioned in the last chapter and speak for themselves, the rest are no less eloquent.

The bishop of Petræa was most kindly received by Louis XIV. It is even a tradition in the Seminary of Quebec that, at a public reception at Versailles, the king, surrounded by a crowd of

courtiers, had testified special benevolence to the humble missionary. In a letter that Mgr. de Laval had likely received before leaving Canada, after having expressed his satisfaction and his thanks for the work of evangelization among the natives of New France, the monarch added: "By continuing such works of piety and virtue you cannot give a better aim to your efforts, neither do any thing more meritorious in the eyes of God, and you will do me a most agreeable service, which I wish to acknowledge, not only by naming you bishop of the said country, which I intend powerfully to help and protect, but also by gratifying you with a benefice of a sufficient income to sustain your dignity."

The letter was an answer to one of Mgr. de Laval. If the conclusion be weighed, it can be inferred that Mgr. de Laval had asked to be named bishop of New France, and for a decent income, although it is not unlikely that the king, through munificence, to testify his satisfaction, may, of his own accord, have made the promise. But, be it granted that the vicar-apostolic had petitioned for both; it must be admitted that he had not forgotten the welfare of the country, since, with the promise of personal favours, in answer to his letter, powerful help and protection were also promised to New France.

What good reasons he had to become bishop of Quebec or New France is already shown by the

events recalled above. His title of vicar-apostolic had truly been a stumbling block. Why was his authority disputed by M. de Queylus, if not because he was not bishop of Canada? Why the quarrels for precedency with d'Argenson, if not for the same reason? The governor knew too well the ordinances and was a man too loving of duty to refuse to comply therewith, had he considered Mgr. de Laval as bishop of the country. And all the rest of the misunderstandings flowed from that source. Why, in fine, do we not see Mgr. de Laval among the members of the council established for the management of the Company of the Inhabitants? In 1645 the Hundred Associates had granted under certain conditions the fur trade to the inhabitants. A society was formed in which they all had a right to become members. To manage the affairs of that society, the king, in 1647, established a council, which was enlarged in 1648. It was composed of the governor in charge, the ex-governor, the superior of the Jesuits, until the coming of a bishop, and two citizens elected every third year. If there was no ex-governor, a fifth councillor had to be chosen among the inhabitants. The governors of Three Rivers and Montreal, when in Quebec, had a right of vote. The records of that council do not exist, but some light may be borrowed from the *Journal* of the Jesuits. On the 1st of October, 1661, Father Lalemant writes: "In spite of all our resistance, Monsieur the Governor

d'Avaugour compelled us to assist at the council. After commanding me several times to do so, by virtue of all the authority that he possessed, without accepting any excuse, when the time came for holding it, he sent his secretary to conduct me thither. When I arrived, he established me in the council, or in my absence, such person. . . . as I might delegate."

Father Lalemant sent afterwards in his place Father Paul Ragueneau, whom governor d'Avaugour placed at the head of the council. It may be remarked, by the way, that if that distinguished Jesuit has been accused of too much interfering in civil affairs, the fault was not exclusively his. Let it suffice here to point out that no mention of the bishop is made in connection with the council of 1648. If he had been a member, what right had a Jesuit to sit there? and what right had the governor to compel him to do so? The person of Mgr. de Laval was simply ignored, and, in that case, the resistance and abstention of Father Lalemant are perfectly just and easy to explain.

All such anomalies came from the unlucky title of bishop of Petræa! Mgr. de Laval had then good reasons to have it changed to that of bishop of Quebec. It was one of his great desires. From the letter of Louis XIV, quoted above, it is evident that the king intended to fulfill it. He even wrote, in 1664, to Pope Alexander VII a pressing letter to obtain the erection of Quebec into a bishopric.

But the affair was to tarry ten long years on account of the strained relations between France and the papal court. When Mgr. de Laval was in Paris an incident most to be regretted had happened in Rome. After a brawl between the lackeys of the Duke of Créqui, ambassador of France, and the Corsican Guards, the latter, enraged, had fired on the coach of the duchess and killed one of the footmen. The king had right to a reparation, but he displayed too much severity in a thing that could be considered as an accident. Joined with unreasonableness in the use of the famous right of *Régale*, it became the cause why the nominations of the king to ecclesiastical benefices met in Rome, for several years, a very slow confirmation.

But that Mgr. de Laval was considered by the court as bishop of Quebec, even before the nomination was confirmed by the Pope, considerably increased his authority. As early as 1662 the king conferred on him the abbey of Maubec in the diocese of Bourges. But this also to be effectual required a confirmation from Rome. Important as could be that question of the erection and of a decent maintenance of the bishopric of Quebec, it was far from having the first place in the mind of the bishop. A Church, with parishes and a clergy, had to be organized in New France; an income for the sustenance of pastors, to be found; a seminary, for the training of priests in the country itself, must be established.

Besides these merely religious matters, measures had to be devised for the temporal welfare of the colony, left by the companies in a shameful state of neglect and helplessness. The liquor trade had also to be checked.

According to Parkman, "the bishop's success at court was triumphant." All his demands were granted. Others before him had complained that the colony was left without defense against a few hundred barbarians. Father Le Jeune had done so in 1660. In 1661, Pierre Boucher, commanding officer of Three Rivers, had gone to France to ask for help, and published there his booklet on the natural history of New France, which produced a happy effect.

The king was therefore well prepared to hear Mgr. de Laval. Not long after his arrival the Hundred Associates received notice that it was the royal intention to take direct charge of New France and were promised an indemnity. On the 24th of April, 1663, in a meeting, they resigned into the hands of His Majesty all their rights in the country. Soon afterwards the king established the Supreme Council which set Canada almost on the same footing as many provinces of France.

Although we do not know exactly the share of Mgr. de Laval in such momentous changes Parkman is not far from complete exactness when he writes: "That memorable journey of Laval to court caused the dissolution of the Company of

New France and the establishment of the Supreme Council." In this he agrees with Latour, who says: "The Supreme Council of Canada was the work of its first bishop;" and with the Abbé de la Colombière, who, in his speech at the obsequies, said that Mgr. de Laval had had a decisive influence on all the resolutions taken at that time. Therefore, if we consider that the institution of the Supreme Council was one of the most, if not the most, important measures of the French administration for the right government of Canada, we must admit that Cardinal Taschereau, in his manuscript history of the Seminary of Quebec, was well inspired by his filial feelings when he wrote that Mgr. de Laval deserved the title of "Saver of the Country."

He obtained in the meantime that troops should be sent in sufficient numbers to restrain and even crush the audacity of the Iroquois. In his report to Pope Alexander VII, written in 1664, not long after his return, he says: "We expect next year twelve hundred soldiers, with whom, God helping, we shall try entirely to destroy the odious Iroquois, by whose ferocity the Gospel is prevented from spreading among the other Indian tribes. . . .

"The Marquess de Tracy is commissioned to visit this country next spring, with seven men-of-war if necessary, to see what measures the king may best take to render this colony strong and prosperous."

The object concerning which he met with the greatest obstacles was precisely one that he had most at heart, the prohibition of the liquor trade among the Indians. But according to Latour, he spoke to the king with such earnestness, such apostolic zeal, that, in spite of the great material interests at stake, his request met with full acceptance: the trade in liquors was severely prohibited, and Governor d'Avaugour, who had imprudently allowed it, was recalled. D'Avaugour died some time after, as a soldier, in the defense of the fortress of Zrin in Croatia against the Turks.

The king even invited Mgr. de Laval to select d'Avaugour's successor. For a long time he declined to do so, but finally, out of gratitude for the kindness of Louis XIV, he proposed the nomination of the Chevalier Saffray de Mézy, Major of the Castle of Caen, whom he had known in the Hermitage. M. de Mézy, after a dissolute youth, had been converted by the influence of M. de Bernières and had become one of his most fervent disciples, remarkable by his humility and his charity. He at first refused the appointment as he was heavily in debt. His debts being paid, it is said, from the king's privy purse, he finally accepted. And so an era of peace and prosperity seemed secured to New France.

Only one great work remained to be achieved: the organization of the Canadian Church. It comprised three things of unequal importance

but all equally indispensable: the formation of parishes with churches so that the faithful might not be prevented by too great distances from fulfilling their religious duties; a seminary to prepare parish priests; and resources for the establishment and the maintenance of both.

Latour says: "the Seminary of Quebec was the masterpiece and the foundling of Mgr. de Laval." We shall see if it be true.

He was still in Paris when, on the 26th of March, 1663, he published his mandement for the creation of a seminary in Quebec. The document is too long to be given in full. Let it suffice to quote such parts as are of special importance, with an abridged statement of the rest.

Having recalled the decree of the Council of Trent for the institution of seminaries, and, the good they produced by increasing in the clergy learning, regularity of life and fervour, he adds: "For such reasons, entrusted by Providence with the newborn Church of Canada, considering how important it is, in such beginnings, to give to the clergy the best possible formation, in order that they be able workers in the vineyard of the Lord, in virtue of the authority confided to me, I do now, and in perpetuity, establish a seminary for the use of the clergy in that new Church."

He afterwards declares that his purpose in such a foundation is to give to clerks all the teachings required to discharge properly ecclesiastical minis-

try, and also to have priests that may fill the office of canons when it shall please the king to endow a chapter.

The paragraph which follows contains one of the special views of Mgr. de Laval in erecting his seminary:

"I desire it to be a perpetual school of virtue and a body of reserve from which I may draw pious and able subjects and send them, in all emergencies, into parishes or any other places of this country, in case of need, to fulfil parish ministry, and withdraw them when it shall be judged proper: retaining forever, to me and the bishops my successors, as also to the aforesaid seminary in accordance with our, or our successors' orders, the right of revoking from office all the ecclesiastics sent and delegated into parishes or other places, whenever and as many times as it shall be deemed necessary: none of them being by special title particularly bound to any parish: but, on the contrary, my will being that they be rightfully removeable, revocable, liable to dismissal, according to the will of the bishop, or of the aforesaid seminary in accordance with their orders, conformably to the holy practice of olden time, preserved even nowadays in certain dioceses of the realm."

It is evident that according to the will of Mgr. de Laval, the seminary was to be not only a house for the training of a clergy, but a sort of

community whose members could be called to any parochial office, or ecclesiastical function, and recalled *ad nutum*, that is to say, at the will of the bishop or of the seminary in accordance with his orders. There were not to be any immoveable parish priests, or any canonical parishes.

All the ecclesiastics doing parish work were to be members of the seminary, and it was to provide for all their wants. When disabled by age or sickness, there, as to a home, they were to return and be cared for until death.

The mandement added: "As it is of absolute necessity to supply the aforesaid seminary and clergy with an income equal to the charges and expenses it will have to bear, I have applied and I apply, have conceded and concede to it, at present and for ever, all the tithes, of whatever nature and in whatever manner they shall be collected in all the parishes and localities of the country, to be possessed in common and administered by the aforesaid seminary, according to my orders and under my authority, or my successors' orders and authority, on condition that it shall provide for the subsistence of all the ecclesiastics delegated to the parishes, all removeable as aforesaid; that it shall also sustain said evangelical workers in health or sickness, either during their functions or in the community when recalled there; and shall pay their voyage expenses when some will be brought from, or return to France,

according to the amount determined by me, or by my successors, to prevent the contestations that might arise from lack of a rule."

To remove all motive of suspecting that the seminary would grow rich by the surplus of tithes, the bishop determined how it shall be employed: "As it is necessary," said he, "to build several churches for the divine service and the convenience of the faithful, I order, though without prejudice to the obligation that the faithful have in each parish to contribute to the building of churches, that when the annual expenses have been covered, all the rest shall be spent on the construction of churches, or in alms and other good works for the benefit of the Church, according to the orders of the bishop. But neither he nor his successors shall have right to apply any part of it to their own use. I even deny to myself and to my successors the right of selling any landed property of the aforesaid seminary without the express consent of four members of the community, that is to say, the superior, his two assistants and the steward."

That mandement, which not only established the seminary, but also truly organized the Church of New France, was submitted for the king's approval. In his letters patent of April 1663, Louis XIV "confirmed the establishment and conferred on the seminary all the tithes of the country, of any kind, as well what is produced

by human labour as what grows of itself from the soil." But he ordered that not a tenth, but only a thirteenth should be paid. He approved of all the other measures of the bishop about the appointment and removal of parish priests, their dependence on the seminary for a living and the obligation of the institution to provide for the same. The only thing he modified was the clause by which the bishop obliged himself and his successors to sell no landed property of the seminary without the consent of, the superior and three other members.

He concluded his letter by the concession of all the civil rights enjoyed by the religious institutions of France and the exemption of all costs of "amortissement."[1]

Such was the basis on which was founded the Seminary of Quebec. Not including the Jesuits, who had rules of their own and remained, nevertheless, at the disposal of the bishop, and of the Sulpicians, who also formed a community submissive to the bishop, we can say that, all the secular priests being part of it, identified with it, the seminary truly formed the Church of Canada. A truly apostolic spirit of disinterestedness pervaded that Church. From Jesuits and Sulpicians to secular clergy, comprising the bishop

[1] A tax paid then to the government by religious communities, to obtain permission of acquiring landed property. As it was sometimes one third of the value of said property, the favour here granted was of great consequence.

himself, all could say in the words of the apostle Paul: "Having food and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content" (1 Tim. vi. 8). In the Seminary of Quebec and in all the colleges or convents that have sprung from it, the spirit of Laval is still alive. Thousands of priests and of the religious of both sexes devote their talents and spend their lives in the education of youth, on the same terms with which Paul was content. And so became possible what would have otherwise remained impossible: the children of the poor French-Canadian pioneer could reach that high grade of instruction which made them able to face any situation, any adversary. So from the thatch-roofed farmhouse, from the poor workshop, could come forth men who, at the bar, in the pulpit, on the hustings or in parliament, would do honour to any race or any country.

As for the parish clergymen, such an admirable state was possible only as long as they did not become more numerous; when regular parishes could be instituted, another method, although less perfect, had to be adopted.

Mgr. de Laval, as soon as his noble designs were realized, hastened to return to Canada. He embarked about the middle of May and landed in Quebec on the 15th of September, 1663, having been absent about thirteen months. Now, after a glance at Canada during his absence we can see the result of all these important measures.

CHAPTER X

THE SOVEREIGN COUNCIL

WHILE Mgr. de Laval was working in France for the benefit of Canada, Heaven seemed to take in hand here his interests and to prepare minds for the acceptance of his measures. In February, 1663, took place the famous earthquake, whose memory is still in existence as the most terrific that ever shook the country. It extended all over North America, but displayed here its most terrible wrath.

As good witnesses as Father Jerôme Lalemant and Marie de l'Incarnation, who were neither dreamers, nor subject to fits of nervous exaltation, testify that the commotion of the earth was preceded and accompanied by supernatural facts not easy to deny when the possibility of the supernatural is once admitted.

The earthquake of 1663 has been minimized by some writers, Garneau among others, but according to all contemporaries, it was tremendous and lasted for six or seven months, although not always with the same intensity. One can find a full account of it in the *Relation* of 1663 and in the letters of Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, from eye-witnesses. Here a few things only need be recalled.

Father Lalemant, as well as the superior of the Ursulines, relates that some pious persons received forebodings of the coming calamity. "On the third of February," says the *Relation* of 1663, "a native woman, a barbarian, indeed, yet old in probity among the new Christians, and of most righteous life, while quietly resting on her bed and awake, alone of all those who slept together in the same cabin, heard early in the night a voice very similar to that of a human being, distinctly and articulately speaking to her, which warned her that great and wonderful things would befall the town, on the day after the next. On the following day she again heard the same voice in the woods." But her fellow-lodgers, to whom she related what she had heard, thought she was jesting or seeking to acquire the reputation of prophetess.

"On that day the aspect of the sky was quite tranquil and serene; and even more so on the succeeding day, the 5th, until five o'clock in the evening. Toward that hour another woman was in prayer, an intimate and close friend of God, and also of tried and consummate virtue."

Who that woman was is not stated in the *Relation*, but we learn by the letters of Mother Marie de l'Incarnation that she was a nun of the Hôtel Dieu, Mother Catherine de Longpré de St. Augustin. Her life, written by Father Ragueneau, is most extraordinary. She had come to Canada

at the early age of sixteen in spite of her family, who held in France a distinguished rank. In her exterior conduct, she was simple, kind, serviceable, obedient, humble, pious but without singularity, beloved by all who came in contact with her, her sisters and the sick as well as the poor, fulfilling in a most practical way the offices entrusted to her. She had, however, a mind possessed of the highest mysticism, but, strange to say, it remained unknown to all, save to her directors of conscience, until her death. She died in the odour of sanctity, at the age of thirty-six, in 1668, mourned by all the colony. Mgr. de Laval said that she was one of the holiest souls he ever knew.

That saintly woman it was who "felt in the fervour of profound prayer that God was vehemently angry and provoked at the sins committed in New France; and, becoming kindled with zeal for the justice and glory of God, she could not restrain herself from earnestly desiring and ardently requesting of Him some punishment, one which would strike terror into all and serve as a public example. Then, lo! there suddenly appear four furious and rage-breathing demons at the four corners of the town of Quebec, indeed, of the whole surrounding country, striving to overthrow that whole region from its very foundations.

"In the centre she beheld a man of beautiful and majestic countenance, now giving free rein to

the headlong fury of those demons; now holding them in, just as they were about to destroy everything. She even heard the demons' conversations. They foresaw that many of their partisans would be roused at the danger of imminent death, and, terrified and remorseful, would be converted. But they also knew how they would entrap and frighten them, and thus drag those deserters back to their camp and recall the fugitives. Meanwhile, they would shake the earth for a long time, and, unless checked, upheave it from its nethermost strata.

"Just as she ceased praying and as the vision disappeared, a noise was suddenly heard under the tranquil and serene sky. At first it sounded as the trumpeter of future disruptions; it seemed to come from afar, and was like the noise of two armies rushing wildly to combat with loud shouts. A frightful crash followed, appearing to proceed from the lowest depths and extreme confines of the earth, and resembling in sound the battle of the waves and the roar of the sea. Then came a shower of stones, which shattered the roofs of houses and burst into barns, chambers, and the most hidden nooks. Finally the dust rose in whirling columns and formed into a cloud; doors suddenly opened and closed of themselves; church-bells rang out in token of the general alarm, intoning a doleful chant; the steeples of churches, like tall trees, became the sport of the winds, swayed in every

direction, and nodded their whole height; costly articles were destroyed, furniture was upset, walls were broken asunder, stones became detached, and timbers gave way; and all this was accompanied by the bellowing and howling of animals."

The effects were greater in the forests than in the clearings, causing trees to crash and topple against one another to such an extent that the savages said: "All the woods are drunken." Even mountains were overturned; springs ceased to flow or became sulphurous; a couple of rivers disappeared and the St. Lawrence became of a whitish tint as far down as Tadoussac.

This turbidity lasted nearly three months. A shower of meteors was seen; these appeared to the frightened habitants as spectres and fiery phantoms bearing torches. Forests were denuded in tracts of more than a thousand arpents. Near Tadoussac a little mountain slipped into the river and, as if it had only taken a plunge, came up again, to be changed into a little island.

These details borrowed from the *Relation* and confirmed by the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation, even with the allowance of some exaggeration, show the intensity of the commotions. According to Father Lalemant, the shocks, varying in violence and intervals, were felt as late as the 9th of September.

But great as these convulsions of nature were, greater still were their effects upon the souls.

"For," continues Father Lalemant, "whether we regard the conversion of the barbarians, who through baptism sought refuge in great numbers in the lap of Mother Church; or the restoration of the faithful, who mended the depraved morals of their former life, we readily perceive that when God shook the earth at its foundation, by the same process he shook the minds of sinners, to a still greater bending of their wills. The days of the carnival were turned into days of piety, mourning, contrition, and tears; private prayers were protracted till late at night; public supplications were announced; pilgrimages were undertaken, and fasts observed. Confessions were instituted, and, among these, many which comprised the sins of a whole life, and, indeed, they were generally made in that faith wherein each one wished to be judged by God, and that these might prevent his eternal wrath and condemnation. Enmities extinguished, disputes laid aside, restorations of offended charity, kneeling supplications, mutual petitions for pardon, and other things of the same kind, sufficiently declare that the earthquake was rather a scheme of the Divine Mercy than a scourge of Justice, especially since, in so great a confusion of affairs and perturbation of the elements, no one lost life or fortune. Fear came to all, penalty to none."

It is amidst such circumstances, unhappy in one way and in another way so happy, that Mgr. de

Laval landed at Quebec, with the new governor, M. de Mézy, and Gaudais Dupont, a royal commissioner, who came to take possession of the colony in the name of the king and make an inquiry into the state of its affairs. Dupont had also to inquire secretly whether and to what extent the accusations against d'Avaugour were just. None should wonder at that, whereas it is quite natural that the minister of state hearing complaints on both sides, should be anxious to know by a third person what was the actual condition of affairs. Two priests already mentioned, crossed the sea in the meantime—Ango des Maizerets and Hugues Pommier, the latter of whom stopped at Newfoundland and spent the winter there ministering to the French.

One of the first cares of the governor and of the bishop was to set on foot the Supreme Council, and, as early as the 18th of September, three days after their arrival, they held in the hall of St. Louis Castle a first sitting in which it was ordered to publish and register the edict of creation of the council. This document is worthy of some attention, since it shows the part Mgr. de Laval played in our civil affairs. The edict was of the end of April, 1663. "We have thought," said the king, "that we could not take a better measure than to establish a regular tribunal and a Supreme Council in New France, for the exercise of justice in the same form, as much as possible, as in our

kingdom, and to compose such council of a number of members sufficient to exercise it."

Afterwards the king names as councillors the Sieur de Mézy, governor, M. de Laval, bishop of Petræa, or the first ecclesiastical dignitary. As for the five others that were to complete the council, their appointment was to be made jointly and with common consent by the governor and the bishop or by the first ecclesiastic, and, after a year, they could be, in the same way, kept in, or removed from office.

To the council was granted "the power of judging all civil or criminal causes, sovereignly and definitively, according to the rules and ordinances of the kingdom, and as much as possible after the form observed in the court and the parliament of Paris." But the king retained the right of changing or even annulling such decisions, if necessary for the good of the community. The council had also the power of controlling the expenses of the public treasury, the fur trade with the Indians and the traffic of the inhabitants with the merchants of France.

All police affairs, private or public, had to be decided in the council, which, besides, had the power of appointing in Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, "persons entrusted with the powers of an inferior court, to judge, without quibbles and length of proceedings, the law-suits among the citizens, and of naming, as they might find it

useful, town-clerks, notaries, scriveners, sergeants and other officers of justice."

Moreover the five councillors had powers to finish law-suits and affairs of little consequence, to see to the execution of the judgments of the council, and submit to it the affairs which the syndics or the citizens would commit to their care.

In return for the discharge of such important duties, special honours were attached to the office and fees paid by the state, on the express condition that the councillors would accept no other offices, fees, gifts, pensions than those granted by the king.

From the terms of the documents it is clear that the Sovereign Council or *Conseil Superieur*, as it was afterwards called, was the greatest authority in the colony. Therefore, Mgr. de Laval, being with the governor the chief member thereof, was, by the will of the king, invested with a considerable civil power.

Here also facts must be set down fairly. The first thing to be done was to choose the five councillors. As M. de Mézy, who had to make it jointly with the bishop, knew no one in the colony, the latter alone chose the first councillors: Rouer de Villeray, Juchereau de la Ferté, Ruette d'Autueil, Le Gardeur de Tilly and d'Amours. No doubt he likewise selected the attorney-general, Jean Bourdon, and the clerk of the Council, Peuvret du Mesnu.

The councillors chosen were the most prominent

men in the country at the time, and have left an honourable name in our history. It is true that they were, at least some of them, "ardent devotees," friends of the Jesuits, that they sided with the bishop in the important question of the liquor trade. But who could impute such things to them as crimes?

Why Parkman has entitled one chapter of his *Old Régime*, "Laval and Dumesnil," is not easy to guess. It is to be assumed that wishing to expose the tyranny of the bishop, he found in the adventures of the Parisian advocate a pleasing *leitmotiv*. But what Mgr. de Laval had to do with Dumesnil amounts to nothing, or very nearly so.

Dumesnil, whom Parkman qualified "an active, aggressive and tenacious person," was a lawyer of the parliament of Paris, who had come to Quebec in 1660, sent by the Company of New France to inquire into the state of their affairs. He was entrusted with the powers of the controller-general, intendant and supreme judge.

The councillors, considering themselves as above his control, refused to acknowledge his powers. He, however, doggedly and by all the means he could contrive, so set himself to pry into the affairs of the colony that he soon became the aversion, the eyesore, of Quebec. He had two sons. One, Péronne de Mazé, was secretary to Governor d'Avaugour, the other, Des Touches, was living

with him. This unfortunate young man had to suffer from his father's unpopularity and perhaps, also, as is not unlikely, from his own pretensions. At the end of August, 1661, in full daylight he received in the street a severe beating and died soon after in his father's house. Péronne Dumesnil made a complaint to the judge of the company, charging four persons with the deed. But according to his own report, all justice was refused, and the affair hushed up. On what ground? Was he living among savages? D'Argenson, who remained in charge until his departure, was not a man to leave murder unpunished; and the murderer was then known, because the *Journal* says: "Killed by a kick from N." It is clear that a name now unknown could at the time be written for N. Is it contrary to the rules of serious history to assume that death was not intended but happened by accident in a brawl in which poor Des Touches was not perhaps playing the part of a lamb?

But in all this what had Mgr. de Laval to do? It was certainly not he that gave the kick! Besides, as it has been remarked above, there is no record of his being a member of the council of 1647-48, and it is much more probable that he was not. The only document in which his name appears about Dumesnil, is the ordinance of the Sovereign Council, September 20th, 1663, ordering the seizure of the papers of Dumesnil. Let it suffice to quote the beginning to show that the seizure, if effected

in a flippant manner, was not made without good reasons:

"Whereas it has been represented by the attorney-general of His Majesty, that one Péronne du Mesnil has had the office window of Audouart, a notary public, ex-secretary to the council, broken open by one Foucault, and has taken away several documents: and even that having had the registers of the council and having done with them what he wished, it is to be feared that he might have purloined some documents in justification of the accounts of some private persons whom he has threatened and constrained through violence to sign some official reports:" therefore and to secure papers that may refer to the king's or the community's affairs, M. de Villeray is committed to make a search of the house of the aforesaid du Mesnil, to seize all his papers, and put them in a box under the royal seal, etc.

This decree is, it is true, signed: Mézy, G., François, évesque de Pétrée, Gaudais Dupont, but is the work of Dupont, then, in his quality of Royal Commissioner, the chief authority in New France. Colbert is perfectly aware of it, when in his letter to Terron his relative, about the complaints he had received from Dumesnil, he says: "I do not know what report M. Gaudais has made to you, but the family interests and the connections he has in Quebec should cause him to be a little distrusted. On his arrival in that country, *having*

constituted himself chief of the council, he despoiled an agent of the Company of Canada of all his papers, in a manner very violent and extraordinary, and this proceeding leaves no doubt whatever that these papers contained matters the knowledge of which it was wished absolutely to suppress."

Colbert spoke thus in the light of the only information he then had—the memoir of Dumesnil. In it, several of the councillors were charged with embezzlement to the large amount of thirteen millions of livres. D'Argenson himself was not spared: he would have increased his poor emoluments by the pay of soldiers that never existed! Who will believe it, when the well known character of that governor is taken into account? History is a matter of documents, it is true, but it is also a matter of common sense. On d'Argenson, Villeray, Bourdon, the councillors against whom the heaviest charges were made, we have documents: the Annals of the Hôtel Dieu and of the Ursulines of Quebec, the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation, the *Relations* of the Jesuits. What are, in comparison with such witnesses, the diatribes of a man half-crazy from birth, and who was deprived of the little common sense he might have had, by wrath, grief and revenge, a French original of William Lyon Mackenzie? To destroy their authority, is it enough to say that they were devotees and friends to Laval? This comes to the same as saying that they were honest, a sort of

crime which is becoming scarcer every day. The best proof that the accusations of Dumesnil against Bourdon, Villeray and their fellow-councillors—Laval is out of the case—were groundless, is not that these councillors, being unlettered, as Gaudais said, unpractised book-keepers, committed material errors and kept confused accounts, and therefore that the charges against them were mere court quibbles. All such accusations, when sifted, were blown off as chaff in the wind. If they had been granted the least credit, how could these men have remained in their high office for a lifetime, honoured by all their fellow-citizens? When completely informed, Colbert judged that Dumesnil's method of getting information by breaking into houses, and obtaining signatures by threats and violence, was not of a sort that deserved approbation and confidence. He dropped the matter.

If the ill-famed lawyer's memoirs were in that manner despised when they could best be judged, do they, after having been worm-eaten in archives for nearly three hundred years, deserve now more credit? Of Dumesnil, Garneau simply says that: "Having been appointed controller-general and judge by the Company of New France, he was suspended on account of his mad conduct." And so crumbles into dust the nice but frail edifice of Parkman.

But what of the relations beween Bishop de Laval and the ill-fated Mézy?

CHAPTER XI

DE MÉZY AND LAVAL

THE royal commissioner remained only six weeks in Canada. After having inquired into the state of the colony, and ordered a census, of which no trace has remained, he sailed for France according to his orders. His name appears only under a few of the first acts of the Sovereign Council. M. de Mézy then seized the reins of power and began to interfere even in the affairs of Ville Marie. The thriving Montreal colony had continued to develop, chiefly through the ability, bravery and devotedness of its governor, Maisonneuve, and the exceptional worth of its colonists. Under the rule of the Hundred Associates, the Society of Notre Dame de Montreal had enjoyed the right of choosing the governor of the settlement, of establishing courts of justice and naming the judges thereof and other officers. It was a sort of State within the State endowed in civil matters with almost a complete independence of the Quebec governor, and which came, as aforesaid, very near to being so even in religious matters.

In that same year, 1663, the former members of the society, reduced to a very small number and feeling unable to support the charge of keeping,

protecting and increasing the establishment, judged proper to transfer their rights to the Seminary of St. Sulpice, on the chief condition that their debts should be paid. M. de Bretonvillers, then Superior of the Seminary, hesitated to accept the grant as it was rather a burden than a favour—the liabilities amounting to twice the value of the seigniory at that epoch. But having considered that their founder, the venerable M. Olier, had had this establishment of Ville Marie much at heart, the Sulpicians accepted the gift and became sole owners of the island of Montreal. It was a happy circumstance for that colony. The St. Sulpice seminary evidently succeeded to all the rights of the ancient company. M. de Mézy judged otherwise. Canada having become the king's property, he thought that such privileges ceased and he renewed the commission of Maisonneuve as governor of Montreal. It was registered on the 23rd of October, under the reservation, by Maisonneuve, of the rights of the Sulpicians. He also established a seneschals' court, with M. de Sailly as judge, Charles Le Moyne as attorney and Benigne Basset as clerk. These acts seemed authorized by the powers conferred on the Sovereign Council. On both things the Abbé Souart, parish priest of Montreal, who had taken possession of the island in the name of the seminary, reserved their rights. In fact the Sulpicians continued to retain the control of justice on the island and named, as

ordinary judge, M. d'Ailleboust des Musseaux. The question was to be decided in their favour by Talon. On the same day as he confirmed Maisonneuve as governor of Montreal, M. de Mézy appointed Pierre Boucher governor of Three Rivers. Mgr. de Laval concurred with him in these measures.

The sittings of the council took place almost every day but not always for matters of equal consequence. The bishop had the letters patent of the king for the establishment of a seminary and the paying of tithes registered on the 10th of October.

The ordinance made on the 28th of September had a special importance. It was about the liquor trade. The attorney-general having recalled that such a traffic had been, under penalty of a fine, forbidden from the beginning of the colony, because of the maddening effects of intoxicating liquor on the natives, continued: "It is averred, that they drink only to get intoxicated; disorders have become so great that the king having been informed, has by a decree of the 7th of March, 1657, prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquor to the savages on pain of punishment. But in defiance of such a prohibition and in contempt even of the censures of the Church, the baleful trade has not ceased. Especially during the past two years, as the transgressions have remained unpunished, the liquor vendors have multiplied, vying with each

other, and evils have increased in the same measure; the savages, prone to drunkenness, contemn the laws of religion, indulge in all sorts of vices, and give up hunting, which until now has been one of the chief resources of the country."

He concluded by asking the council to put an end to such mischief. "Everything being considered, prohibition is renewed to all persons of whatever dignity or condition to trade or give, on whatever pretext, strong liquors to the savages, not even one draught, on pain of a fine of three hundred livres for the first offence, and, for a second, of the whip or expulsion from the country."

The ordinance, published and posted up in Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, was a direct blow against the licence allowed by Baron d'Avaugour. Another of his measures was repealed a few days later. He had, of his own authority, without the consent of the ancient council and the usual public auction, conceded, on the 4th of March, 1663, for two years, a lease of the fourth part of the fur trade of Tadoussac, and in the meantime, as a consequence of his aberration, the right of selling there liquors to the Indians. The lease was declared null on the 4th of October, and after the legal proclamations, an auction was set up on the 22nd for the sale of that same lease of the Tadoussac fur trade. The two chief bidders were the Sieur Charron and Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye. The latter having raised his offer to the consider-

able sum of forty-six thousand and five hundred livres, fifteen thousand of which were to be paid in advance every year, three candles, according to a curious custom, were successively lit up, and, in the afternoon of the 23rd, when the last went out, he was granted the lease for three years.

During the first months the greatest harmony prevailed between Mgr. de Laval and the governor, no cloud troubled the serenity of the political sky. Both dignitaries agreed on several measures: the registration of the tithes ordinance; the paying of the subsidies to the religious communities and of an indemnity to the Hôtel Dieu on account of the great number of sick people brought there from the ships; the distribution of food and clothes to the poor colonists recently arrived.

On the 1st of January the bishop even dined with the governor, but the *Journal* which mentions that token of mutual good will, adds a few lines below: "This month, began the broils about tithes." Therefore as early as January trouble began, but the day is not given. One cause is pointed out: Tithes!

Let it suffice to recall here that tithes were an income for the maintenance of the clergy, to be paid by the *habitants* out of the products of the earth. Although the terms employed in the edict of the king which established them—"what is produced by human labour as well as what grows of itself from the soil"— are most general, they

were limited to cereals, such as oats, barley and wheat or corn. The bishop, in his mandement for the erection of the seminary, attributed the tithes to that institution, which in its turn had the obligation of providing for all the wants of the priests charged with parish ministry. The king had issued an edict that tithes should be paid on the scale of one bushel in every thirteen. All this had been registered by the Sovereign Council, and it could not be otherwise. Imagine the council of New France, just established by the king, refusing to enact an ordinance of the king! Louis XIV was indeed too far to come whip in hand, as he did in the parliament of Paris, to hush all discussions about his orders, but he knew how to be obeyed.

On the other hand, it is not to be wondered at that the Canadians, accustomed to receive for half a century all religious services without any cost from the Récollets and the Jesuits, looked askance at such a new charge. M. de Mézy deemed it just to countenance their opposition, and even, according to Latour, to write against tithes as threatening to ruin the colonists and to cause their desertion from the country. Some councillors, as Rouer de Villeray, Bourdon, d'Auteuil, who were staunch Catholics, thought otherwise. According to Latour, he also wished to see his emoluments increased out of the revenues of the country, and this the councillors had no mind, and likely no right, to do.

But the chief cause of his grudge is to be found in the nature of the man himself. He had been in his youth what is called a hard case, headstrong and dissolute. By his conversion he had fallen into another excess. Now that he found himself invested with high authority, he could not but see that, while his predecessors had enjoyed it almost without restraint, it was, for him, limited by the council and shared almost in an equal degree by the bishop. Let us add the intriguers, never lacking near those who hold power, who poisoned, by their false or exaggerated reports, his mind against the bishop and his supporters. Then the old man, who in him was asleep but not dead, awoke again, with his pride, jealousy and violence. The principles of the Hermitage were set aside, but not so completely as to cut short all scruples. In such a state of mind, it is clear that the poor governor had much to suffer; he is to be pitied, but, from the plain exposition of facts, not to be approved.

His first serious step in the way of illegality was a long message which he sent, by d'Angoville, major of fort St. Louis, to Mgr. de Laval in the hall of the Council on the 13th of February, 1664. Therein he declares that he has invited the Councillors Villeray, d'Auteuil and Bourdon to absent themselves from the council, because they were only the creatures of the bishop, who had profited by his ignorance to have them appointed.

He complains that they wish to "make themselves masters of the council and have acted in divers ways against the interests of the king and of the public for the promotion of personal and private ends."

What is all this but an echo of Dumesnil's accusations? It is not to be forgotten that Péronne de Mazé, surviving son of Dumesnil, and ex-secretary to d'Avaugour, had remained in Quebec, and enjoyed the confidence of the governor, who soon after named him a councillor.

The end of the document is still more extraordinary. M. de Mézy not only asked the bishop to acquiesce in the exclusion of the aforesaid councillors, but to join him in calling an assembly of the people to choose others.

Mgr. de Laval simply answered that such a declaration was void, since he did not share in it, but asked that it should be deposited in the record office. Angoville said that if it was not registered by the council, the governor would have it published and posted up in the city to the sound of the drum. And so it was done.

Three days after, on the 16th, the bishop made his official reply: "Without paying attention," he said, "to the offensive expressions and the injurious accusations against my person, from which I intend to justify myself before His Majesty; to the demand of M. the Governor that I should concur in the dismissal of the persons mentioned

in the placard, and in the nomination of other officers, I say that neither my conscience, nor my honour, nor the respect and obedience I owe to the orders of the king, nor my fidelity and affection to his service, allow me to do so, until, by a legitimate judgment, the accused persons be convicted of the crimes with which they are charged."

As the absence of the attorney-general, Bourdon, paralysed affairs and was a cause of complaints, the governor, on the 5th of March, asked Mgr. de Laval to allow the election of a substitute. The bishop replied: "I cannot share in that nomination unless I were to admit that M. the Governor was right in deposing from his office the attorney-general; a thing I will never do, as long as that officer is not convicted of the charges against him. If M. the Governor wishes to name a substitute, let him do so on his own responsibility."

The governor then appointed Louis-Théandre Chartier de Lotbinière as deputy attorney-general. He however was made to understand that he had gone beyond his limits of the power, and after two months of disgrace, d'Auteuil and afterwards Villeray and Bourdon were reinstated in their office. But the ill humour of M. de Mézy was not so easily to be abated. In September, 1664, when, after a year, the time came that the councillors should be changed or continued in charge, he of his own authority, dismissed the attorney-general, Bourdon, and the councillors Rouër de Villeray,

d'Auteuil and La Ferté. The record of that famous sitting of the 19th of September, 1664, although cancelled by order of Tracy, Courcelle and Talon, in the original register, has been published and every one can see there a report of the passions that roused the meeting. Villeray was absent and also the bishop, who had sent the vicar-general, de Lauson-Charny, in his place. It is well to notice that, a month before, the governor had invited Mgr. de Laval to concur with him in changing some of the councillors. The prelate had answered on the 25th of August: "The king having done me the honour of notifying me, by M. Colbert, that, about the next spring, M. de Tracy, lieutenant-general of His Majesty for all America, had orders to come here and decide everything about the government and the administration of the civil affairs of this country, I cannot consent to such a change before the coming of the aforesaid M. de Tracy."

Was it not, in the present dissensions, the wisest way?

But the governor was determined to have his own will.

The meeting of the 19th of September had for its object to administer the oath to Jean Le Mire, elected as syndic of the *habitants* after nearly a year of proceedings which, according to M. de Mézy, had been rendered useless by the cabals of his adversaries. M. de Lauson, d'Auteuil and La

Ferté opposed the election as quite irregular, having been made, as the record admits, by persons to whom the governor had sent letters of convocation. The oath was nevertheless administered, and afterwards M. de Mézy declared that he dismissed from the council, Villeray, then absent, d'Auteuil, La Ferté and the attorney-general, Jean Bourdon. D'Auteuil and La Ferté yielded in silence, but not so the attorney-general. Let us quote the words of the record to show the methods of M. de Mézy:

"Which dismissal has been accepted, save by the Sieur Bourdon who has haughtily and insolently declared that he did not consider himself as deprived of his charge; which obliged M. the Governor to cause him to be expelled and ill-treated (*le faire sortir et maltraiter*), seeing the sedition he evidently intended to rouse."

But we have more details in a memoir kept in Paris and of which an abridgement is given in the first volume of the Canadian Archives "Report" for 1905.[1] The abridger unhappily, through ignorance, or in a fit of abstraction substitutes the name of Frontenac for that of Mézy. But as he gives the proper date, 19th of September, 1664, although, in consequence of his error, he judges good to put a note of interrogation after it, there can be no doubt for any one familiar with Canadian history. Bourdon having died in 1668 could not have

[1] Page 506 of the English version, 501 of the French

received at the hands of Frontenac the "caresses" therein described. It is worth quoting: "M. de Charny having asked M. the Governor[1] the reason of his refusal to enter on the registers the deliberations of the council, he got into a fury and said to the whole council: 'I dismiss you, go out; I do not suspend you only, but I dismiss you, go away from here,' threatening them with injurious words, a stick in his hand. Looking at the registrar and the Sr. Bourdon, procureur-general, he said: 'I dismiss you also.' M. Bourdon retorted: 'As for me, Sir, I do not consider myself as dismissed; the decree of the establishment of the council does not enact that I may be removed: I ask you, if you please, that it should be read.' Hearing this M. de Mézy rose up from his chair, took M. Bourdon by the throat and pulled him out of his place by force, hit him on the head with his stick, drew out his sword, and hit him many times, when the Srs. d'Amours and d'Auteuil covered him, thus enabling the said Bourdon to retire. He went out. M. the Governor followed him outside, hit him again many times with his stick and with the flat side of his sword and wounded one of his hands, saying: 'I will kill you.' Sr. Bourdon retired without saying a word and called on a surgeon to get his wound dressed."

[1] I blot out here and below the ill-placed name of Frontenac. Frontenac has enough of his own, without having to bear Mézy's blunders.

A few days later the governor chose as councillors, M. Denys, La Tesserie and Péronne de Mazé. D'Amours and de Tilly kept their charge.

The unfortunate man was becoming an autocrat. Villeray had already gone to France to bear his own complaints. Bourdon was ordered there in his turn to give an account of his conduct.

Nothing now could stop M. de Mézy on his ruinous course. On the 28th of September he caused the names of the new councillors to be placarded without any mention of the bishop's opposition. The latter, knowing the illegality of the new council, absented himself from its meetings. Moreover, judging that his duty was to apprize the public of its incompetency, he ordered the publication from the pulpit that the council in its present state represented neither law nor legal power. Then, naturally, says the *Journal*, the governor, exasperated, caused in his turn a litany of abuse to be repeatedly published with beat of drum against the bishop. If we are to believe Latour, he went even so far as to have, with a view to intimidation, the Church surrounded by his guards when Mgr. de Laval was saying mass. But the bishop, who was not easily frightened, having come to the door at the conclusion of the office, the soldiers, to the great confusion of the governor, respectfully saluted him.

It is clear that M. de Mézy, with all his pride and self-reliance, did not feel himself on a bed of roses.

Blinded as he was, he could not but see, at least in moments of calm reflection, how arbitrary and illegal was his conduct. Faith, besides, was not extinct in him and therefore remorse at times raised its voice. We see by the *Journal*, that he "complained loudly everywhere that he was refused confession and absolution." To which complaint the Jesuits answered "that God knew every thing." He had even, in a letter to Father Lalemant, which Parkman qualifies "pathetic," opened the perplexities and anxieties of his soul, beseeching advice. He was divided, he said, between gratitude to a benefactor, and faithful duty to the king. Having discovered, as he thought, practices contrary to royal interests, he wished to expel the offenders from office. But the bishop and all the ecclesiastics had denounced him as a calumniator and threatened that the sacraments would be refused to him and the churches closed against him. He nevertheless wished to be saved, and, as nothing is so certain as death and nothing so uncertain as the hour thereof, he implored the casuists of the House of Jesus to tell him what in conscience he should do.

Father Lalemant, who knew better than any one, that the practices against the king's service mentioned by M. de Mézy were merely the dreams of Dumesnil, which had found a resting place in his brain, simply advised him to follow his confessor's directions.

Nevertheless, in spite of the differences, on New Year's day, 1665, the usual social courtesies took place between Church and State. It was only a brief sun-dart in a cloudy sky. Such a state of restlessness could not but tell heavily on the health of a man who was no longer in the prime of life. M. de Mézy fell dangerously ill about the middle of February, and asked to be carried to the Hôtel Dieu. The *Journal* does not give the exact date, but we see that the governor was present for the last time, at the council, on the 7th of February. The saintly Catherine de St. Augustin, mentioned above, had then the chief office in the management of the sick. By her prayers, her motherly kindness, her charitable care, she contributed more than any one else to soothe the embittered soul and to procure its conversion. The governor acknowledged his errors, asked the bishop to hear his confession and became entirely reconciled with him. On the feast of St. Joseph, 19th of March, and at Easter, mass was said in his room and he received communion. He died piously on the 5th of May and was buried, according to his will, in the cemetery of the poor.

Such are the facts. One must hold his patience with both hands when he sees how they have been distorted and misconstrued in order to draw all sympathy to the unfortunate Mézy and to represent him as a victim of Church tyranny. He was a

victim of his own errors. In his ways of proceeding as well as in the substance of the debated matters, he was mistaken.

About the councillors that he wanted to dismiss and whom he finally expelled, the bishop, when he said, "I cannot concur in that measure until they are convicted of the crimes with which they are charged,"—expressed a truth of common sense and an axiom of Roman Law: *Nemo reus habetur nisi probetur*. Nobody can be held guilty unless it be proved.

As for their moral character, it is likely that the governor too easily admitted the accusations of Dumesnil. He evidently alludes to that when, in his letter to M. de Tracy, a few days before his death, he says: "You will, more easily than I, make clear the things that I might have communicated to the king about their (Mgr. de Laval and the Jesuits) interference in temporal affairs. I know not, however, if I have not deluded myself by accepting too easily the reports that were made to me against them. Therefore, my Lord, if there has been in my proceedings something wrong, I beseech you to let it be known to His Majesty in order that it not be a burden on my conscience."

Regarding Jean Bourdon, one of the members of the council who most displeased M. de Mézy, we have a precious testimony from a witness of exceptional value, Mother Marie de l'Incarnation. Writing to her son in 1668, after the death of that

good citizen in January, she says: "M. Bourdon was procurator of the king, a charge he was entrusted with on account of his probity and merit. We had together a very close union of spiritual interests, for, under secular garments, he led a most regular life. He kept himself in the continual presence of God and in union with His Divine Majesty. He once risked his life to make an agreement with the Dutch about some French prisoners; for that charitable man entirely devoted himself to public welfare. He was a father to the poor, a consoler to the widows and orphans, a model for all."

"Engineer, surveyor, in turns," says the Abbé Ferland, "clever in law, soldier, ambassador, discoverer, councillor, he was always on the level of his functions. But before all he was an honest man, a good Christian."

Was not such a man much above the venemous shafts of Dumesnil?

The same praise, if not in the same measure, could be repeated of Villeray, who had the charge of first councillor. About him d'Argenson wrote: "He is one of the best inhabitants of this country and a most honest man." Having arrived in the colony poor, with M. de Lauson, he became, by his cleverness and merit, secretary to that governor and filled afterwards important functions as a magistrate. The royal commissioner Patoulet wrote about him that he was the only man in New France

qualified for a seat of judicature. But, being a staunch friend of the Jesuits and the bishop, he was naturally worthless in the eyes of their adversaries. All that Frontenac, to whom he was obnoxious, could find to say against him in a letter to the minister of state in this: "He is here considered as a mischief-maker, a sower of enmities; although he possesses intelligence and learning, he is entirely devoted to the Jesuit fathers, and it is commonly said that he is of the number of those, who, without wearing their robe, have withal taken the vows." That sort of crime, unforgivable in the eyes of Frontenac, need not look so in the eyes of unprejudiced persons, and did not look so to the minister who answered by heaping high encomiums on Villeray. He represented him as a man of great probity and ability, who had rendered to Canada most precious services and, after years of labour, far from having become rich, enjoyed only a moderate competency.

As for d'Auteuil, to say nothing of La Ferté who is less known and can be judged according to his fellow-councillors, he cannot be numbered, although a good Christian, among the contemptible devotees mentioned above. Had he been a man of little value, he would not have become himself attorney-general in 1674 and kept the charge until his death in 1679.

And then, justly to impeach these councillors, is it enough to say that they sided with the bishop?

If the bishop had right on his side, was it not their sworn duty to be with him? To say nothing of the ridiculous election of Jean le Mire as syndic of the *habitants*, they seconded him in the great questions of the liquor trade and of the establishment of tithes. The only thing about which M. de Mézy could have a shred of reason to oppose the views of Mgr. de Laval, is precisely the latter—the question of tithes. I say a shred of reason, for, how could he justly repel a measure approved of, and even decreed, by the king? Nevertheless, although he knew the country much less than the bishop and the councillors, he might think that it was too poor for such an imposition and listen to the reasons of the inhabitants. But not long afterwards, Talon, who cannot be suspected of Jesuitism and of lacking experience and prudence, judged otherwise. Many reasons militated in favour of tithes. It was in France the mode of sustaining the clergy, and the church of New France was to be modelled after that of the mother country. There, more than in France, it was the easiest means for the *habitants* to support their pastors. Money was so scarce that most of the commerce relied on exchanges; those who boarded in the Ursulines and later on in the seminary and other houses which kept boarders paid in kind, in barrels of eels, bushels of corn, or cords of wood. Now, is it necessary to remark that it was an act of justice for the faithful to sustain those who

spent their lives in their service? "The labourer," says the Lord, "is worthy of his hire" (Luke, x. 7). The apostle Paul uses even stronger terms: "Who serveth as a soldier, at any time, at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" (1 Cor. ix. 7). For the fulfilment of that duty, tithes were not only the easiest means, but the most conformable to equity. If the parishioners had little, the pastor received little, if they had much, he received much.

Mgr. de Laval displayed, however, a great moderation in imposing that obligation.

The edict for the establishment of the seminary and of the tithes was registered by the council on the 10th of October, 1663, and an order given to publish it and have it posted up in the chief localities. But it met with strong opposition; the people of Three Rivers would not even allow any publishing or placarding. But all opposition would soon have been stilled if the governor and some members of the council had not encouraged it. Then the bishop, instead of insisting by severe measures, temporized. He first exempted the parishioners of Quebec, who had incurred expenses for the construction of their church, from paying tithes the first year. He afterwards diminished, for six years, the quota from the 13th to the 20th bushel, a measure soon extended to the rest of

the country. But as dissatisfaction persevered, on the rumour that tithes comprehended not only cereals but all that grew from the earth, he explained in a mandement that the expressions of the edict meant only what was produced from the tilling of the soil, and consented to leave tithes at the 20th for his lifetime. He even allowed the inhabitants, before paying anything, to wait for the vessels of 1665, in order that they could bear their complaints to the king. In fact, nothing was paid to the parish priests before 1667.

After the arrival of M. de Tracy, a meeting of all the chief inhabitants having been held, on the prayer of the bishop, the viceroy, jointly with Governor de Courcelle and Intendant Talon, published his ordinance of the 4th of September, 1667, which ruled that, for twenty years, without prejudice to the rights of the Church, tithes should be paid at the rate of the twenty-sixth bushel only.

In order not to return to this subject, let us add a few things. As in all matters of personal interest, that question of tithes frequently came upon the carpet, some asking for a diminution, others petitioning that they should be brought back to the first figure of the 13th, and even extended to all the products of the farm, hay, tobacco, pumpkins, fruits, garden stuff, hemp, flax, etc. Attorney-General d'Auteuil, son of the councillor, opposed all changes. He wrote in 1695, that "very few clergymen had not from the tithes

of cereals, the income that had been judged sufficient for a decent living, that is to say, five hundred livres, and that, if some were willing to make changes in the tithes, it was to give superfluous wealth to the clergy by burdening the *habitants*." A decree of the Council, of July, 1707, rejected the request of the Abbés Boulard and Dufournel, respectively parish priests of Beauport and of Ange-Gardien, and confirmed the settlement made in 1667 by M. de Tracy.

That same rule is still in existence, and the province of Quebec is likely the only place in the world where that antique institution is still in force and acknowledged by law. French Canadians sustain their clergy by tithes paid on that scale out of their grain crop. And so, here, the catholic clergyman is not a charge on the nation at large, does not depend on the vote of a budget, is not a hireling of the government: he depends for his living on those who require his services. If every thing is properly weighed, even the liberty of the Church set apart, is it not the best solution of a difficult problem?

By his opposition to the royal edict and chiefly by his tyrannical treatment of some of the councillors, M. de Mézy had incurred the indignation of the king. Villeray and Bourdon, with their own wrongs, were bearers of the complaints of the bishop, and Louis XIV determined to make an example. M. de Courcelle, who was appointed his

successor, was commissioned with M. de Tracy and Talon, to inquire into the charges against him, and, if they were real, to have him arrested and sent to France a prisoner. There, undoubtedly, as Perrot, governor of Montreal some years later, he would have tasted the sweets of the Bastille. Death saved him from such a disgrace. As God had judged, the human judges desisted. The accusations were allowed to lapse.

But to write that his accusers and adversaries, the Jesuits and Mgr. de Laval, sang triumphant requiems over his lifeless form, is merely detestable rhetoric, indeed, pure impudence. If there was rejoicing about the unfortunate man's demise, it was because he died repentant. It is written: "There shall be more joy in heaven over one sinner that doth penance than upon ninety-nine just who need not penance" (Luke, xv. 7.).

CHAPTER XII

NEW FRANCE AND THE FIVE NATIONS

HAPPY changes were at hand for the welfare of New France. After the death of Mazarin (1661), Louis XIV had personally taken the reins of the government and could say: "The State, it is I." As a counsellor and a minister, he had the famous Colbert. It is true that he did not long keep direct control over Canada. As early as May, 1664, another company, called that of the West Indies, was entrusted with all the commerce of the French possessions in America. Its privileges and obligations were almost the same as those of the Hundred Associates. In Canada, the agent of the company was granted, in 1665, the right of entry and of deliberation in the Sovereign Council. As a compensation for their expenses the members obtained the fourth part of the beaver skins, the tenth of the elks, and the lease of the fur trade of Tadoussac. They had also the power of naming the governor and the intendant, but entreated the king to keep the nomination to himself.

Much less, for the development of the country, was expected from this new company, than from its predecessors. Composed exclusively of merchants, it could have no other motto than:

Business is Business, that is to say: first, one must become rich, while, in the other companies, were always to be found some persons of rank and wealth who consecrated considerable sums to the benefit of the colony. But this disadvantage was to be compensated by the sincere intention of the king and of his minister to increase the prosperity of New France.

On the entreaties of Mgr. de Laval quite a large number of colonists had already been sent in 1663. But they were unhappily, for the most part, young men without experience, little suited for the hard labours of Canada. Moreover, crowded on two ships, several had died at sea, and, of the rest, hardly twenty could stand on their feet when they landed in Quebec. Three hundred others came in 1664 in better condition. The king paid the costs of the voyage, but, in return, they engaged themselves to labour for three years among the *habitants* to get used to the tasks of the country.

The share of Mgr. de Laval, in these attempts to increase the number of Canadian colonists, is not to be passed over in silence. He had remarked, and others had remarked it after him, that the fittest men for the hardships of Canada, did not come from La Rochelle or its neighbourhood, but from Perche and Normandy. When he was in Paris he had frequently spoken about the matter with Colbert. After his return, the minister wrote to him: "During your stay here you mentioned to me that the people coming from around La

Rochelle were not labourious. The king, after your advice, has taken the resolution to levy three hundred men in Normandy and the neighbouring provinces. . . . I hope that contingent shall be a benefit to the colony."

But much more remained to be done, and, above all, it had become of pressing necessity sternly to stop the aggression of the Iroquois. As early as 1663, the king informing Mgr. de Laval that he had named M. de Tracy his lieutenant-general in America, asked him to concur with said viceroy in all things that his royal service might require.

Not long afterwards, Colbert, in his turn, wrote: "His Majesty is determined to send to Canada a regiment of foot, in order to destroy entirely the Iroquois. He commanded M. de Tracy to go there, and to confer with you about the best means of succeeding in that affair."

After all the troubles with d'Avaugour and Mézy, the confidence of the king and of his minister was not weakened. Louis XIV wrote in 1664: "M. the Bishop of Petræa, I have received all your letters and seen all that you say about the events of Canada . . . this dispatch is to testify my satisfaction for your devotedness to the welfare of the country. I hope that you will continue and exhort you to do so. Remain sure of my protection, proofs of which you shall receive on every occasion."

In 1665, when M. de Tracy had made an im-

portant inquiry into the ambition and excessive meddling in civil things imputed to the clergy by the reports of d'Avaugour and the letters of Mézy, Mgr. de Laval received from the king another latter which had in it no touch of reproof: "M. the bishop of Petræa," he wrote, "from your zeal for the exaltation of the Faith and your affection for my service, I did not expect less than your conduct in a mission so important and so holy as yours. The chief reward is to be obtained in Heaven, which alone can give one proportioned to your merit. Nevertheless you may be confident that such as depend on me, shall not miss you at every opportunity. As for the rest, rely on what M. Colbert will write to you in my name."

Here is a letter from Colbert, written the next year, 1666, to Mgr. de Laval: "I send to you, by order of the king, six thousand livres, at your disposal for your own wants or the benefit of your church. It is impossible to overestimate a virtue like yours, which is always equal to itself, which extends its assistance wherever it is required and renders you indefatigable in the functions of episcopacy, notwithstanding your frailness of health and your frequent infirmities, and which finally leads you to undergo, as the least of your priests, the fatigues of ministering the sacraments in the most distant localities. These expressions are entirely sincere. I say no more for fear of offending your natural modesty."

These letters are here quoted not only to show that the complaints of the late governors had been judged groundless, but also what credit the assertions of modern writers deserve, that Bishop de Laval took no interest and played no part in the temporal welfare of the country, but only sought the triumph of his narrow views as a Churchman. No answer equals that of facts and documents.

Alexandre de Prouville is generally, by our historians, qualified Marquess de Tracy. But in the solemn meeting of the council, on the 23rd of September, 1665, all his titles and qualities are given as follows: *Messire Alexandre de Prouville, Chevalier, Seigneur de Tracy,* Councillor of the King in his Councils, Lieutenant-general of His Majesty in South and North America, etc. If he had been a Marquess, it was the proper place to mention that dignity. He was a simple chevalier, as were Mézy and Courcelle. Talon had no title of nobility, but he had brains. This is said not to suggest that brains and nobility are incompatible, but that the worth of a man does not depend on mere rank. For M. de Tracy, it is possible that, to increase his influence, the sonorous title had been conceded for the time of his mission. It is certain that, although personally a most humble man and pious Christian, he always displayed, during his stay in Quebec, a great exterior pompousness. He never went out unless preceded by six lacqueys, followed by twenty guards and surrounded by a

crowd of noblemen: just the show to amaze the vulgar.

He sailed from La Rochelle at the end of February, 1664, with a great number of noblemen, and visited first the French possessions in South America. He left the island of Guadeloupe on the 25th of April, 1665, and reached Quebec on the 5th of June. The citizens had prepared a grand reception, but he declined all such honours and, on his landing, was simply led to the church where the bishop solemnly received him, and a *Te Deum* was sung, accompanied with music, according to an old memoir.

That year, 1665, must be numbered among the happiest in the annals of New France. The country seemed to revive, to feel confidence in the future. With M. de Tracy were four companies of the regiment of Carignan-Salières. Four had arrived at an earlier date, eight came about the middle of August with their Colonel, M. de Salières, and eight, on the 2nd of September: the twenty-four companies of fifty, some of sixty men each, formed a military force of twelve hundred men,—quite imposing for a town of seventy houses and five hundred inhabitants!

Attorney-general Bourdon had previously returned with some girls chosen and sent to Canada by order of the queen. Governor de Courcelle and Intendant Talon were on the ships that brought the last companies of the regiment of

Carignan. Finally in October a vessel from Normandy set on shore one hundred and thirty labourers, all strong and healthy, and eighty-two girls, fifty of whom, brought up in a charitable house in Paris, had received careful instruction. The number of persons landed in Quebec in that one year nearly equalled the total population of the country, which was at the time very little above two thousand souls.

With all that, had come a precious cargo for the company and the communities. But what caused the greatest surprise was a dozen horses, the first imported into the colony since the one given twenty years before to M. de Montmagny. The Indians wondered how the French elks were so tame and so easy to manage.

After the coming of M. de Tracy the council formed by M. de Mézy held a few meetings, even one presided over by the viceroy himself for the registration of his own powers and of the edict of the creation of the Company of the West Indies. It took place on the 6th of July and was the last. But on the 23rd of September, 1665, all the old councillors were reinstated and a solemn meeting held, at which Mgr. de Laval was present. M. de Tracy presided. The letters patent of the new governor and of the intendant were registered and the right conferred on M. Le Barrois, agent and interpreter of the Portuguese language for the company, to be present at the

meetings of the council and to take a share in their deliberations.

The council were not to meet again before the 6th of December, 1666, more than one year later. In that meeting we see the same old councillors, with the exception of Juchereau de la Ferté and d'Auteuil, who were replaced by one Sieur de Gorribon, a newcomer very likely, qualified: "Heretofore Councillor of His Majesty in the Court of Justice of Marennes," and chosen for his knowledge of the law, and by the Sieur de la Tesserie, the only councillor of M. de Mézy. There is no occasion to be surprised at the absence of d'Auteuil and La Ferté, as councillors could be changed yearly. There is no trace of any indictment against them, and a proof that there was none is that after his return to France, M. de Tracy proposed them to the king, with Bourdon and Boucher, to be ennobled.

But, in the interval, memorable things had taken place, which have to be related.

The instructions of Colbert to M. de Tracy could not but allude to the past troubles between Church and State. "I must," he said, "draw your attention to the fact that M. de Pétrée and the Jesuits have forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to all the inhabitants of Canada to sell liquors to the savages, because falling into excesses of drunkenness and losing their senses, they commit mortal sins. . . . This certainly flows from a

good principle, but is a serious obstacle to commerce, because the savages, passionately fond of liquors, instead of trading their furs with us, will bear them to the Dutch, who do not refuse to sell them such liquors."

And so Colbert placed material above spiritual interest. No wonder if we see Talon soon favouring the same views. But, about the interference of the Jesuits in civil affairs, he wrote to the minister: "If in the past, the Jesuits have counterbalanced the civil by the spiritual authority, they have much modified their conduct, and, if they continue in the path they now follow, nothing is to be feared on their account."

In that same letter he expatiated on the importance of Canada for the mother country and the means of improving its prosperity, as well as on the obstacles thereto. His observations are too just not to be quoted.

"If the king," he said, "has considered New France as a beautiful country which can be transformed into a great Kingdom, I do not believe that his views can be realized as long as he leaves in other hands than his own the ownership of the lands and of the commerce which is the living spirit of the establishment. Since the agents of the company have published that they shall not allow any liberty of trade, not only to the French that used to come into this country and bring in goods, but even to the very inhabitants of Canada

so far as to forbid them to draw merchandise from the kingdom, I perfectly see that the company, putting their pretensions into execution, will grow rich by impoverishing the country. They will deprive it of the means of maintaining itself and shall be a deadly obstacle to its development; in ten years it will be less populous than it is now."

The woeful effects of the accursed system of colonization by the means of companies has never been presented in clearer terms.

But as the religious debates had been terminated by the death of their author, the great task that lay before the viceroy was to crush the power of the Iroquois.

His intention was to strike immediately a telling blow on the Mohawks (Agniers), but the delay in the arrival of the ships that brought the troops prevented him from doing so. He at least prepared for quick and decisive action. The Richelieu river was called the Iroquois river, because by it, in their swift canoes, the barbarians used to invade and infest the colony.

M. de Tracy, in the summer of 1665, sent detachments of soldiers to build forts on its banks. One was erected at the mouth of the river on the site of the old fort built by M. de Montmagny and received the name of Sorel from the officer who superintended the work. M. de Chambly built another one at the foot of the rapids named after him. It was called Saint Louis, but soon

after took also the name of its builder. M. de Salières himself supervised the erection of a third one, which he named Sainte Thérèse, nine miles above the Chambly rapids.

Twenty men were sent to the foot of Lake Champlain to choose a site for another fort, which was built in the following spring and called Sainte Anne. The soldiers, profiting by the abundance of game in that region, followed some Algonquins in their hunts and came back to Montreal with eight hundred beaver, and a great number of elk skins.

In December, 1665, Garakonthié, with whom we shall later become better acquainted, an Onondaga captain friendly to the French, came to Quebec with Charles Le Moyne, whom he had delivered from captivity, and a few Cayuga (Goyagouin) and Seneca (Tsonnontouan) ambassadors, to treat for peace. M. de Tracy received him kindly and granted to him the liberty of three prisoners of his nation, adding that he was ready to do so with the other tribes if they kept the treaties without being constrained by war.

But the Mohawks and the Oneidas (Oneiouts) were too proud to submit without a lesson. M. de Courcelle was in such a hurry to inflict it upon them that he determined, in spite of all that could be objected, to lead an expedition against them in the very heart of winter. D'Argenson himself, in his memoirs to the court, about the war that of

necessity had to be made against the Iroquois, had wisely remarked that it should not be undertaken during winter. Had M. de Tracy and Courcelle experienced a Canadian winter, they would not have sent some hundreds of men on a raid of four hundred and fifty miles, through snow four feet deep and when the temperature was twenty, and sometimes twenty-five or thirty degrees, below zero, through a wilderness where no other shelter was to be found than the blue sky or the snow itself.The excuse of Courcelle is that he faced such hardships himself at the head of his soldiers. He left Sillery, on the 8th of January, 1666, and Fort Sainte Thérèse on the 30th. The little army comprised about four hundred regulars and two hundred Canadian volunteers, of whom seventy came from Montreal under Charles Le Moyne. To these, the Blue-coats, as they were called, was entrusted the dangerous, though honourable, post of vanguard on the way forward, and of rearguard during the retreat. Father Pierre Raffeix, a Jesuit, followed as almoner. Thirty Algonquins had pledged themselves to guide the expedition, but having found liquor traders senseless enough to sell them brandy, they had lost a considerable time in drunkenness, and the army had to start without them. The French were without guides through the deep forest, and when they emerged from it, were only two miles from the Dutch village of Sconectadé—now Shenectady

—and about eighteen from Fort Orange, but sixty miles from the Iroquois villages. Only one skirmish took place, with the loss of a few men, around two Mohawk cabins on the skirt of the woods.

Since 1664 the neighbouring country had belonged no longer to the Dutch. Charles II, although England and the Netherlands were at peace, had conceded to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, the land between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. Colonel Nicholls an officer of the duke, with five ships and three hundred soldiers, summoned Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of Manhattan, to surrender, which he did on the 27th of August to prevent the fort, which was in no state of defense, from being battered down. A month later Orange fell in the same manner and received, in honour of the Duke of York, the name of Albany, while Manhattan became New York. The Dutch were granted the greatest privileges: they kept their properties with the right of free trading with the mother country. They all remained, with Colonel Nicholls as governor.

The French troops were exhausted and short of provisions. A rich Dutch merchant, Corlaer, friendly to France, at that time united with Holland against England, happily could have some supplied. But Courcelle having heard that the Mohawks and Oneidas were absent from their villages, and fearing, on account of the rain that had begun on the 20th of February and continued

on the 21st, that the thawing of the ice might render the return impossible, ordered a retreat. After two days, the Algonquin guides arrived. It was too late for the success of the expedition. They nevertheless were of some help by procuring some venison for the starving army, but not enough to prevent more than three score of soldiers dying of hunger.

De Courcelle reached fort St. Louis on the 8th of March, highly discontented with the result of the expedition. Grief is frequently a cause of unjust feelings. He accused Father Albanel, who ministered to the garrison, of having caused the failure of the enterprise, by delaying the Indian guides. In Three Rivers he said to a Jesuit: "I am the most unhappy man in the world, all because of your Fathers." He repeated his accusation in Quebec. How much more just would he have been, had he blamed, for his lack of success, the accursed liquor trade, which all the ecclesiastics, Jesuits and bishop, opposed with their whole power! He was made to understand it and his feelings towards the Jesuits became more benevolent.

After all, this raid had been a feat of real heroism: commander and soldiers had borne hardships and overcome obstacles almost beyond human strength, and the result, although different from what had been anticipated, was not so bad as it appeared. It caused great anxiety in the English settlements and made the Mohawks under-

stand that they were not out of reach, nor free from French reprisals and revenge. In July, 1666, an embassy of Oneidas came to Quebec, in their own name and in the Mohawks' behalf, to treat for peace. A treaty was signed on the 12th. Some of the ambassadors were kept as hostages and the others sent back in company of Father Beschefer and M. de la Tesserie. They had hardly been gone two days when sad tidings were brought from fort Sainte Anne, built on an island of Lake Champlain. Some French officers, having gone hunting on the mainland, were surprised by some young Iroquois warriors, and three were treacherously killed, among whom was M. de Chazy, stated by Charlevoix to be a nephew of M. de Tracy. Four others were taken prisoners, one of whom, M. de Leroles, was also a relative of the viceroy. On such news, Father Beschefer and his companion were recalled and came back with the Oneida ambassadors. According to the custom of the Mohawks themselves, all these ambassadors could have been put to death, but they were only imprisoned, and Guillaume Couture was sent to Albany to ask information from the Dutch, who had vouched for the good faith of the Five Nations. M. de Sorel closely followed in his steps with two hundred French and eighty Indians. Sixty miles only separated him from the Iroquois villages, when he met with one of the chiefs, called the Bâtard Flamand, who in company with some of his tribes-

men was leading back to Quebec the four prisoners taken at Lake Champlain. M. de Sorel judged it wiser to return, and led to M. de Tracy the Indian chief with his companions and the delivered prisoners. New parleys took place about a general treaty of peace, and the Indians offered satisfaction for the murdered French officers. Why the negotiations were interrupted, is diversely reported. It is not unlikely that an incident, perhaps a little dramatized by Nicolas Perrot, then took place, although not mentioned in the *Journal* of the Jesuits. All that the *Journal* says is that Couture came back with two Iroquois captains, one of whom headed the band which killed M. de Chazy. According to Perrot, at a dinner given by the viceroy to the Iroquois captains, one of them, raising his arm, said in a loud voice: "That arm it is which broke the head of Chazy!" M. de Tracy, indignant, as were all around him, exclaimed: "It shall no more break any!" and ordered the boasting assassin to be hanged immediately. All parleys ceased and active preparations for another military expedition were begun.

When the soldiers were ready, M. de Tracy invited the Bâtard Flamand, whom he esteemed, to see the army. The Indian could not prevent tears from coming to his eyes when he thought of the misfortune that threatened his country. "Ononthio," he said, "we are lost, but our loss shall cost a great deal. Many of those fine youth shall

remain on the field, because my nation will fight to the last. I pray thee to spare my wife and children."

The place of meeting appointed was fort Sainte Anne, in Lake Champlain, where all the different corps of troops had orders to be on the 28th of September. M. de Courcelle, always in a hurry, had taken the lead with four hundred men. Some bodies having tarried, M. de Tracy could not start before the 3rd of October with the main army. The whole expedition comprised six hundred regulars from all the companies of Carignan, six hundred Canadians and one hundred Hurons and Algonquins. The bravery of the troops, according to the *Relation* of 1665-1666, received a wonderful spur from the examples of their commanders and from the zeal of the priests who accompanied them. Two were Jesuits, Fathers Albanel and Raffeix, and two of the secular clergy, M. Dollier de Casson, a Sulpician, and the Abbé du Bois, almoner of Carignan.

The hardest part of the campaign was the distance of about one hundred miles, through marsh and bush, from the head of Lake Saint Sacrament —now Lake George—to the Mohawk villages.

Officers and men had all to carry a share of the supplies. Two small field pieces caused the greatest trouble. M. de Tracy, in spite of his age, partook of all the fatigues and nearly perished in crossing a rapid.

The Mohawks at first intended to resist, but, at the sight of the powerful force that attacked them, they all took to flight, with the exception of a few old men. The French found in the villages immense supplies of Indian corn, beans and other products of the country, which would have fed New France for two years if they could have been carried away. Some of the cabins were built of carpentry and skilful wood work, furnished with accommodations that were most unusual among Indians. A *Te Deum* was sung and mass celebrated in the last village, captured without a battle, and afterwards everything, palisades, houses, supplies of all kinds, were destroyed by fire and the surrounding fields laid waste.

"As a result," concludes the *Relation*, "those familiar with these barbarians' mode of life have not a doubt that almost as many will die of hunger as would have perished by the weapons of the soldiers, had they dared await the latter's approach." And, in fact, according to Nicolas Perrot nearly four hundred starved to death during the following winter. It was a severe lesson, but had long been deserved.

The expedition met with some hardships on its return journey, but, with the exception of a few men drowned in Lake Champlain, safely came back. M. de Tracy was in Quebec on the 5th of November. He set at liberty the Bâtard Flamand and three other prisoners, with a warning for the

future. The Mohawks came to crave peace from the viceroy, and even brought some families as hostages. Some French girls, carried into captivity several years before and who had even forgotten their own language, were also given back. A treaty of peace was arranged, and this was to last eighteen years, during which the colony, under the active and skilful direction of Talon, was to undergo great material development. But not only temporal progress flowed from the happy campaign of M. de Tracy, the Church also profited by such a new and such a favourable state of things. A great obstacle to the evangelization of the Indian tribes, of the Five Nations themselves, was removed from the path of the missionaries, as we shall see in the next chapter.

M. de Tracy returned to France on the 28th of August, 1667, on a man-of-war, the *St. Sébastien*, sent specially for him by the king. He continued to take interest in the welfare of Canada till his death three years later

His name must live in the hearts of Canadians, as of a great benefactor of the country. Had his heavy blow on the ferocious Iroquois been inflicted thirty years before, what unspeakable tortures would have been spared to hundreds of victims, how many precious lives preserved!

CHAPTER XIII

THE WORK OF THE MISSIONARIES

THE successful expedition of M. de Tracy opened to evangelization a large field, which Mgr. de Laval entrusted to the Jesuits. With the Mohawks and Oneida ambassadors, and on their entreaties, Fathers Frémin, Jean Pierron and Bruyas set out for the country of the Five Nations. Frémin and Pierron were to preach the Faith to the Mohawks and Bruyas to the Oneidas.

It was not the first attempt to spread the Gospel among the dreaded barbarians. Father Jogues had already profited by his cruel captivity in 1642-43 to sow the good seed in the souls of his tormentors. In 1646, during his embassy with Jean Bourdon, he had again, while confirming the faith of the Huron captives, preached also to their masters the Christian doctrine. When he returned in the fall with Jean de Lalande, his intention was not only to maintain peace but to establish a mission for the diffusion of the Gospel.

Nine years later, in 1653, the Mohawks and Onondagas spoke again of peace, and as a pledge of sincerity brought back Father Poncet, whom they had taken prisoner at Cape Rouge. Governor de Lauson received them well and promised to send

an ambassador to visit the Five Nations. In July, 1654, Father Simon Le Moyne was sent and was enthusiastically received in the Onondaga villages. He had all that is required to please the Indians,—physically powerful, amiable, tolerant of their customs and speaking their language eloquently. He found there several Huron captives who had preserved their faith. On his way back by way of the Oswego river, he discovered, near a small lake, salt springs, which later became a precious resource for the surrounding country. He was bearer of a message from the Onondagas, who asked the French to make an establishment in their country. In 1655, while Father Le Moyne was visiting the Mohawks,Fathers Chaumonot and d'Ablon went to the Onondagas. The former spoke the Indian languages with a perfection that excited the admiration of the savages themselves, while the other played skilfully musical instruments. As the Indians are fond of eloquence and music, the two missionaries, by flattering their ears, found their way to their souls. Their success seemed so full of promise that a French establishment in that locality was decided upon. In the beginning of May, 1656, fifty-five Frenchmen, including six or seven Jesuits, left Quebec for Onondaga.

After many hardships they reached the Oswego river on the 7th of July and were received by the Indians with such signal tokens of joy that the author of the *Relation* of 1657 could write: "If,

after this, they betray and massacre us, I will not accuse them of dissembling but of levity and unsteadiness."

The French chose for their establishment, near Lake Gannentaha, about fifteen miles from the Onondaga village, a hill which dominated the neighbourhood. They called it, in remembrance of the prosperous residence of Huronia, Sainte Marie. Against a surprise, always possible from those suspicious and ever-changing savages, the commander Du Puy built a fort. Many Huron captives and Iroquois visited the place, and these some of the fathers instructed, while others visited the neighbouring villages. Father Le Mercier was Superior of the mission.

Such good prospects could not last long. The Mohawks had not only been jealous because the French had made an establishment among the Onondagas, but, on that very account, they felt uneasy about their trade with New England. A plot was soon secretly framed for the destruction not only of the French of Gannentaha but of all the colony. The execution was happily delayed by the fact that a dozen of their tribesmen, after some murders committed near Montreal, had fallen into the hands of Governor d'Ailleboust, and they wished to secure the liberation of the prisoners before committing open hostilities. Meanwhile the missionaries were warned by some chiefs friendly to the French, and the commander, Du

Puy, most cleverly managed to save all his men. In March, 1658, after a banquet, at which all victuals had to be eaten, after the Indian fashion, missionaries and soldiers stole away during the night in boats that had been secretly constructed. They were out of reach when the Iroquois, gorged with food, awoke from their heavy slumbers.

And so finished the first period of the missions among the Five Nations, without any visible result.

In 1661, after having threatened the colony with utter destruction, Cayuga and Onondaga ambassadors again visited Quebec. They not only invited the French to return among them, they also asked for a "Blackrobe," as they called the missionaries, and even for the *Filles Vierges*, their name for the Ursulines and the Hôtel Dieu sisters, to settle in their country. As the liberty of a score of French captives detained there, whom they promised to deliver, was at stake, the brave missionary, Father Simon Le Moyne, familiar with the Five Nations, determined to try the venture.

He left Montreal in July, 1661, with the ambassadors and some prisoners that had been set at liberty. He was again given an enthusiastic welcome. The great chief Garakonthié even went to meet the father as far as six miles from the villages. That Indian captain deserves a short mention. Although not a Christian yet, he was a staunch

friend of the French. Writing about him, to his superior, Father Lalemant, Father Le Moyne said: "He is a man of excellent intelligence, of a good disposition, and fond of the French, of whom he has gathered as many as twenty in his village, rescuing them, some from the fires of the Agnieronons, and others from captivity so that they regard him as their father, their protector and their sole refuge in the barbarous land. He has indeed undertaken the liberation of all those poor French captives and is maintaining peace between his nation and ours."

He changed his cabin into a chapel and treated the missionary in a courteous manner, little to be expected from a barbarian. Having found a crucifix that some of his tribesmen had obtained during a raid on the island of Orleans, he bought it and placed it in the chapel.

Father Le Moyne received during his stay at Onondaga several letters from French captives, describing the torments they had to undergo, chiefly among the Mohawks. One came from François Hertel, then a very young man, who was to become one of the most daring officers of New France and to live a long life despite his sufferings among the Iroquois. All could not be delivered, but, in a council of the nation, it was decided that nine would be led to Montreal by Garakonthié and some Seneca and Onondaga ambassadors.

They set out about the middle of September

and were not a little perplexed when they met on their way a band of fifty Onondagas, headed by an important captain named Orréouaté. He proudly wore a black gown and waved some French scalps. Having been held in irons in Montreal two years before, he had determined to take his revenge by killing some distinguished Frenchman. The gown was that of M. Le Maistre, a Sulpician. Some of the ambassadors would not continue on their errand for fear of reprisals. But Garakonthié, considering that the prisoners he was leading back warranted the sincerity of the ambassadors and that those who had been left at Onondaga with Father Le Moyne were a security for his life and that of his companions, prevailed upon them to go forward. In fact they were welcomed in Montreal and received with great demonstrations of joy. The prisoners, according to the expression of the *Relation*, were considered as risen from the dead. After thanksgiving to God, first author of their deliverance, and friendly embraces, they recounted their adventures and extolled the kindness of Garakonthié, who not only had saved them, but had done his utmost to soothe and comfort their life. The Onondaga captain became the fondling of Ville Marie and was called the Father of the French. When he left he was loaded with gifts; even the children brought to him handfuls of meal or ears of Indian corn. He was saluted on his reëmbarking by a

general discharge of muskets, and even the cannon celebrated his departure.

Father Le Moyne had wintered at Onondaga, where he restored the Huron church and laid the foundation of the Iroquois church. But great disorders had taken place, chiefly through drunkenness, on account of the brandy brought in from New Holland in such quantities that Onondaga had become a veritable pot-house. The missionary, for a few weeks, took refuge with the Cayugas whom he considered the least cruel and the most hospitable of the Iroquois tribes.

The return of Garakonthié contributed to allay the evil dispositions of the nation and to abate disorder. He contrived affairs so skilfully and firmly that in August, 1662, he could safely lead back to Montreal Father Le Moyne and the remaining prisoners.

Father Le Moyne died peacefully at Cape de la Madeleine in 1665.

As for Garakonthié, in spite of such signal services and of his inclination toward the Christian religion, he had not yet received baptism. Now, however, after the severe lesson inflicted by M. de Tracy, each of the Five Nations received missionaries, among whom, particularly worthy of mention, were Fathers Pierron, Frémin, Bruyas and, the most celebrated of them all, Father Étienne de Carheil, considered by the Indians, and the French as well, as a genius and a saint. In the *Relation* of

1668-69, Father Le Mercier says: "That famous Garakonthié, the most renowned of all the savage captains and the best disposed of all toward the French, longs for baptism in good earnest." He had been prevailed upon to give up the superstitious belief in dreams and to retain only one wife.

"But," adds the father, "as all this needs to be well looked into, in the case of a captain of his reputation, his baptism is still deferred."

He was baptized only in 1669 after a council held in Quebec to prevent a war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. The ceremony took place in the church that was used as cathedral and was given all possible solemnity. M. de Courcelle offered to be godfather, and Mlle. de Bouteroüe, daughter of the intendant who had succeeded Talon in 1668, was godmother. Mgr. de Laval himself conferred the Sacrament and afterwards also administered confirmation to the fervent neophyte. Until his death in 1677 or 1678, he remained true to his faith and a staunch friend of the missionaries, whom he frequently preserved from the dangers that always threatened them among those barbarians who had been humbled and frightened but not tamed.

The missionaries among the Five Nations, besides those already mentioned, were the celebrated Father Jean de Lamberville and his brother, Jacques de Lamberville, with Fathers Milet, Raffeix and Garnier. Jean de Lamberville was

the superior and said that he himself had frequently seen the hatchet lifted above his head, while Father de Carheil, within two years, had been in constant danger of death. Garakonthié was ever a shield to them. "He is not to be equalled," wrote Father Milet. "He is the soul of all the good done here; he sustains the Faith by his influence; maintains peace by his authority. He declares himself so highly in favour of France that he can be proclaimed the protector of the crown in this country."

He died in the arms of Father de Lamberville, who described at length the pious feelings of his last moments and wrote a most glowing eulogy of his virtues. One of the last wishes of the dying captain was that a "high cross should be erected next to his grave in order that it might be seen from afar and that after his death people might not forget that he had been a Christian."

But in spite of the efforts and the exceptional value of the missionaries, the progress of the faith among the Iroquois was very slow. Some hundred, however, were baptized. The causes of such a failure were the same as for all the other Indian tribes: polygamy, superstitious belief in dreams and medicine-men, but chiefly drunkenness. To preserve their neophytes from this last danger, which grew worse every day, the missionaries thought of establishing a Christian *reduction*, or village, for them on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

They possessed, above Montreal, on the opposite shore, a seigniory called La Prairie de la Madeleine, given to them in 1647 by M. de Lauson. There, as early as 1669, Christian Iroquois families began to gather around a Jesuit residence and formed the village of Saint François-Xavier des Prés. Seven years later, in 1676, when the fields, never manured, became impoverished, it was removed three miles further away, near the Portage river, and took the name of Kahnawaké—a water-fall, which in its English form, Caughnawaga, it has preserved, although the mission's place changed three or four times before becoming established on its present site near Sault Saint Louis.

Under the direction of Fathers Frémin and Cholenec, the Christians of Saint François-Xavier lived, according to Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, who visited them later, with all the fervour of a monastery.

In 1667 there arrived, from the village of the Mohawks, a young girl named Catherine Tekahkwitha, baptized two years before by Father Jacques de Lamberville, and who, on account of the purity of her life, has been surnamed by the English, the Lily of the Mohawks, and by the French, the Gèneviève of New France. She died in the odour of sanctity in 1680 and, according to Charlevoix, miracles took place at her humble tomb, which became a place of pilgrimage for the parishes around Montreal. He even relates that

one M. Rémy, newly arrived from France, and parish priest of Lachine, having refused to lead the annual pilgrimage to the grave of the good Catherine, for the reason that such a worship was not acknowledged by the Church, was warned by his parishioners that he would be punished. "In fact," says the historian, "he fell dangerously ill on the same day. He understood the cause of such a sudden visitation, made a vow to follow in that matter the example of his predecessors and was immediately cured."

The fathers of the third council of Baltimore have asked the introduction of the cause of Beatification of Catherine Tekahkwita, and it is not unlikely that the poor Indian girl may, one day, partake of the honours of a public worship with the apostles of the Indians,—Jogues, de Brébeuf and their heroic companions.

These were not the only Iroquois missions. Another, after the model of La Prairie de la Madeleine, was established in 1677 at their costs, by the Sulpicians at the mountain, with a chapel and schools. After several misfortunes it was, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, removed to its present location of Oka on the lake of Two Mountains. The Sulpicians had also a mission in the bay of Kenté—or Quinte—on Lake Ontario, ministered to by the abbés de Fénelon and Trouvé. Both had arrived here in 1667 and were not yet priests. They were ordained by Mgr. de Laval in

1668. Some Cayugas having settled on the north shore of Lake Ontario came to Montreal to ask for Blackrobes.

As the two young priests had come to New France with the special aim of devoting themselves to the Indian missions, Mgr. de Laval felt very happy to entrust the Cayugas to their zeal. They started in canoes with an Iroquois chief and arrived at Kenté about the end of October, 1668. In spite of their efforts, they were only able to baptize some children. M. de Fénelon having returned to Montreal and Quebec in 1669, another Sulpician M. D'Urfé followed him to Kenté. Later, M. de Cicé and M. Mariet went also to work in that mission, which the Seminary of St. Sulpice kept until it was entrusted to the Récollets in 1673.

Towards the far west, still unknown, but now on the eve of disclosing some of its secrets, stretched an immense country with innumerable Indian tribes. After Father Ménard, who had lost his life in search of these forlorn souls, Father Claude Allouez, who deserves so well the name of Apostle of the West, ventured in his turn on that hard and dangerous task. Mgr. de Laval had conferred on him, in 1663, the charge of grand vicaire for all the countries situated toward the north and west.

Starting in 1665, he crossed at Sault Saint Marie, followed the south shore of Lake Superior as far

as Chagouamigon point, at its west end. With his knowledge of six Indian languages, he was able to preach not only to the Hurons and Algonquins whom he found there, but to the Outagamis, Christinos, Sauteux, Illinois and Potowatomis who occasionally came to that locality. Having returned to Quebec for a companion, he established, in 1667, the mission of the Holy Ghost at Chagouamigon point, which he left in charge of Father Nicolas. He established another mission on Lake Michigan at the Bay des Puants, now Green Bay, where he could preach the Gospel to the Miamis, the Ousakis and the Mascoutens. Replaced there by Fathers Druillettes and André, he joined Fathers d'Ablon and Marquette who had established a mission near Sault Sainte Marie and made it the centre of the western missions.

These celebrated missionaries were also daring explorers. They made maps of the three great lakes,—Huron, Superior and Michigan,—and pushed into the unexplored west further than any European had yet done.

From the Indians, they had frequently heard of a long and broad river, the Father of the Waters, as the natives called it. But where it was, nobody, save the Indians yet knew. Marquette, with Louis Joliet, was to be its happy discoverer.

Father Marquette ministered to the Hurons of the mission of the Holy Ghost, when they had to fly before the attacks of the Sioux. They found a

refuge at Michilimakinac, on the straits between lakes Huron and Michigan. The mission was called St. Ignace. He was there, when, on the 17th of May, 1673, he started with Joliet on their immortal voyage. On the 17th of June, a grand sight was before them: a majestic and noble river was flowing under their amazed eyes—the Meschacébé.

After four months of exploration, they came back, and Father Marquette went to found a mission among the Kaskakias. But feeling sickly and wishing to die among his Hurons of St. Ignace, he was put in a canoe and two Frenchmen undertook to lead him to Michilimakinac. Unhappily his strength gave way and he died, deprived of all human relief, near a little river now called Marquette. He died, but his name is one of those that die not.

Such was the immense field in which the preachers of the Gospel had to display their zeal.

But they had not all to go so far to find souls to save. Only a few miles from Quebec, Father Le Jeune had established, in 1638, at St. Joseph of Sillery, a mission for the Montagnais and the Algonquins. It remained flourishing until 1670, when small-pox and the plague of drunkenness, introduced by the French of the neighbourhood, almost changed it into a desert. But it took on new life with the coming, about 1675, of a number of Abnakis converted by Father Druillettes. But the Abnakis, under the guidance of their devoted

missionaries, Fathers Jacques and Vincent Bigot, soon removed to St. François de Sales, on the Chaudière river, and finally to Lake St. François and to the river Bécancourt, where they are still to be found.

Meanwhile Father Chaumonot had transplanted the remainder of the Huron nation from Quebec to the heights of Ste. Foy. He built there for them, in 1669-70, a chapel under the name of Notre Dame de Foy, after a small wooden statue he had received from a famous shrine in Belgium. It soon became a place of pilgrimage.

The two missions of Sillery and Notre Dame de Foy, not distant one from the other more than a mile and a half, were ministered to by the same missionaries through a road that the Indians cut in the woods. The *Relations* of the time are full of narratives of the ingenuous and sometimes wonderful piety displayed in both places by the neophytes. The church of the Sillery *reduction*, even after the departure of the Indians, continued for a long time to stand on the beach, but it no more resounded with the canticles of the converted Indians. Joseph Bouchette saw it in 1800: it had been transformed into a loft for malt. Now its site only remains, marked by the monument erected in 1870 on the grave of Father Massé, who was buried there in 1646. But the old Jesuit mansion is still to be seen nearly in its primitive form.

As for the chapel of Notre Dame de Foy, it was

destroyed by fire, and with it the miraculous statue, in 1698. The parish, already in existence for half a century, was then canonically erected, and a new site, about a mile further to the west, was chosen for a church. But the Hurons had left long before. In 1673 they were led to Ancient Lorette by their devoted missionaries, Fathers Chaumonot and Bouvert. The former had consecrated to them almost his whole life. Old age and broken health could alone determine that saintly man to leave his dear neophytes. He returned to Quebec in 1692, and died, eighty-two years of age, in 1693.

The Hurons removed in 1698 to New, or Indian, Lorette, now Loretteville, where they are still to be found. They form a village of their own, have their schools and their church enriched with the most precious souvenirs of the seventeenth century. There is none among them who now could understand one word of the Huron language, much less speak one. They are brought up entirely in the French manner.

Mgr. de Laval frequently visited the Indian missions, those at least that were not out of his reach. We have records of his visits to Sillery to minister confirmation. But he ventured much further. A special account is preserved of his voyage to Tadoussac in 1668. The church of the mission had been recently destroyed by fire and he was received in a large bark cabin. He consoled

the poor Indians by saying to them that the finest chapel, the most pleasing temple in the eyes of God, was their souls when adorned with Christian virtues. He visited all the wigwams and remained with them eight days. He said afterwards, in a letter to his friend M. Poitevin, rector of St. Josse: "If my health remain next year as good as it is now, I intend to return to Tadoussac. For, if these poor people have been happy to see me, it was no less a pleasure for my heart."

Another visit, of which a detailed narrative has been made, is that of 1676 to the Christian Iroquois of Prairie de la Madeleine. "That man," relates Father d'Ablon, "great by his birth, greater yet by his virtues, which have recently called forth the admiration of France and have deserved the esteem and the approbation of the king, that great man, visiting his diocese, was led by two peasants in a small canoe, and exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, without any other follower than one ecclesiastic, and without any other ornament than a wooden cross, a very simple mitre and the other things necessary to a bishop of gold, according to an expression employed about the prelates of the primitive Church."

Such was, in short, under the impelling force of Mgr. de Laval, the state of the missions of New France during his lifetime.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONY

THE missionaries, while they spread the Gospel, extended also the influence and the power of France. In June, 1671, a memorable celebration took place at Sault Sainte Marie. M. de Lusson had been sent by Talon to take possession, in the name of the king, of the regions of the west as far as the South Sea. Having wintered on Lake Huron, that officer came to the Sault early in May and convoked, through ambassadors, all the nations of the region for three hundred miles around. Fourteen answered the invitation and, on the 4th of June, in presence of a great multitude of wondering natives, a large cross, blessed by the superior of the mission, was solemnly erected to the singing of the *Vexilla Regis*, and the escutcheon of France nailed to a cedar post, to the shouts of: "Long life to the King!" Father Allouez delivered afterwards an eloquent address to eulogize the greatness and the power of the French monarch. The celebration ended at night with a *feu de joie* and the singing of the *Te Deum*.

Under the vigorous government of Courcelle and the skilful administration of Talon, the colony was making rapid development. Father Le Mercier,

in the *Relation* of 1666-1667, speaks at length of the great intendant's happy efforts to increase the resources of the country, and extend its commerce. Fisheries were promoted, mines opened, lands cleared, timber manufactured into staves and boards. Even ship-building was begun.

The cultivation of hemp was introduced, horses and sheep were brought from France and increased finely in Canada. Agriculture flourished and villages rapidly arose in the vicinity of Quebec.

After the victory of M. de Tracy over the Iroquois, the king had ordered the regiment of Carignan back to France with some other companies of soldiers that had come before. Four companies, however, chiefly of those whose captains had married, or intended to marry, in the country, were left behind for the protection of the forts. The king had even declared that he would be pleased if some men of the recalled companies settled in Canada. About four hundred chose to do so. Each soldier received one hundred livres or fifty with victuals for a year. A serjeant was granted one hundred and fifty, or one hundred with a year's supply. Twelve thousand livres were distributed to the soldiers, who, although not belonging to the remaining companies, consented to live and marry in the country. Forty thousand livres were spent to levy in France and send to Canada fifty girls and one hundred and fifty workmen. The Company of the West Indies itself

was not neglectful of its duty and sent two hundred and twenty-five men. If help had continued for a few years on that scale, the country would soon have become able to provide for itself.

Unhappily Talon, who had such a great share in these happy improvements, feeling his health impaired, asked to be recalled and returned to France in 1668. His activity besides had to suffer from Governor de Courcelle who, active only by fits, was not a man to let a subordinate take the lead. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, so just in her appreciations, writes about that departure: "M. Talon leaves us and sails for France, to the great regret of all, and the great harm of all Canada, for, from his coming as intendant, the country has improved more, and prosperity has more increased than since its establishment by the French."

But perfection is seldom found upon earth. Talon had prejudices against the Canadian clergy, and believed their influence too great in temporal affairs. About the liquor trade, in particular, his ideas were quite different from those of Mgr. de Laval. After the death of Bourdon, in January, 1668, he wrote, by his secretary Patoulet, to the minister: "It is most important for the king's service that the new attorney-general be not in the interests of the ecclesiastics." As for the liquor trade, doubt is not possible that the pernicious decree of the council on the 10th of November,

1668, was his work. He was present at the sitting, although his successor, M. de Bouterouë, sat in his lawful place and before Mgr. de Laval. Talon is qualified: *cy-devant intendant*, late intendant. Why was he there if not to lead the debate? His influence was such as to excite the jealousy of Governor Courcelle. On the pretext of preventing some persons from selling, against the orders of the council, liquors to the Indians, it was decided to allow all the inhabitants of New France to sell liquors to all Indians that would buy any. The remedy looks a little strange, but such is the text. No lover of the dry regimen, even to-day, will agree with it, if we consider that the poor inveigled Indians had less self-control than new born children! All the councillors signed with Courcelle, and Boutrouë, even Villeray! M. de Tilly alone sided with the bishop. Talon did not sign, because, very likely, he had no right to sign as he had none to be present. But the charge remains on his memory.

As it was easy to foresee, disorders passed all measure: the threatening of the stocks and a fine of two beaver skins was not a barrier strong enough to sever Indians from one of their worst passions.

Mother Marie de l'Incarnation repeated, in 1669, the outcry we have already heard about the excesses of drunkenness and the crimes flowing therefrom. She wrote about Talon: "If it only

pleased God to inspire him with the idea of banishing the sale of liquors, this would be the last touch to immortalize his memory in this new Church."

But on this question his mind remained unchangeable.

The council, however, during his absence, without cancelling the license for selling liquors to the Indians in the French settlements, were obliged, on the 26th of June 1669, to forbid, on severe punishment, the carrying of any into the woods. Nothing more could be obtained from the councillors, or from the court, in spite of the entreaties of M. Dudouyt to Colbert, in the name of the bishop of Quebec. The royal edict of 1678 simply reproduced the decree of the council in 1669.

But Talon had left Canada with the hope of coming back, and in France he did not forget the interests of the colony. A new commission of intendant was signed for him in May, 1669, and Colbert wrote to M. de Courcelle that he would learn from M. Talon what the king intended to do that year for New France. Two hundred thousand livres had been spent on sending there, to make establishments, six companies of fifty men each, with more than thirty officers and noblemen, two hundred other labourers and one hundred and fifty girls to marry with the colonists.

In his instructions Talon was advised to live in good intelligence with the ecclesiastical authorities, to favour the Sulpicians and to bring to Canada

some Récollets in order to counterpoise the influence of the Jesuits. And so the intendant, when he sailed in 1669, had with him three Récollets of the province of St. Denis, Fathers Romuald Papillion, Hilarion Guesnin, Césaire Herveau and the lay brother, Cosme Graveran. François Marie Perrot, who had married a niece of Talon, was also coming in the quality of governor of Montreal. But the ship, which left La Rochelle, on the 3rd of July, met with such furious tempests, that, after having been tossed about three months by the waves, she was thrown out of her way on the coast of Portugal. Provisions were exhausted and one Récollet, Father Romuald, died of starvation. A second attempt was still less happy; the vessel sailing from Lisbon, was completely wrecked, and Talon with his companions narrowly escaped drowning. It became necessary to wait for another year. He left France again in May, 1670, and reached Quebec on the 18th of August, after three months at sea during which he was again in danger of shipwreck. He had this time with him six Récollets: Fathers Germain Allard, Provincial, Gabriel de la Ribourde, Simple Landon, Hilarion Guesnin, and two lay brothers, Anselme Bardon, and Luc Lefrançois, "well known in France," says Leclercq, "as a most skilful painter," and who, in fact, enriched with valuable pictures some of our ancient churches.

Although M. de Bouteroué was a very distin-

guished man, whom Courcelle even accused of being too friendly to the bishop and the Jesuits, the return of Talon caused great joy. "We can say," writes Father Le Mercier, "that the pleasure of his happy arrival has not been lesser than the fear and consternation caused by his shipwrecks."

The second administration of Talon lasted until 1672 and was not less beneficial to the country than the former. He left for good in 1672 with de Courcelle, who was in ill health. Both were sincerely and justly regretted, the governor because of his wisdom and firmness, which endeared him to the French and inspired dread in the Indians; the intendant because of his love for the country, which, in a few years, by his ability and exertions he had rendered ten times stronger and more prosperous than it had ever been. Both had unfortunately cherished unjust feelings of diffidence towards the Jesuits and the secular clergy. Talon died in November, 1694.

Probably on account of the new governor, Louis de Buade, Earl of Palluau and Frontenac, who arrived here in the fall of 1672, no intendant was immediately appointed. Frontenac belonged to high nobility, but was as poor as noble, and prouder still than both, remarkable for his wit, his culture, his bravery, and his skill in affairs. He was not a man to suffer any authority to clash with his own. He could have repeated the words of Louis XIV: "The State, it is myself." Char-

levoix has drawn a picture of him, glowing and true, with a masterly blending of bright and dark hues. Such was the man with whom we shall have occasionally to deal in the following pages.

During his two terms he always remained a true friend to the Récollets, but, as judiciously remarks the distinguished author of the life of Jean Talon, the Honourable Thomas Chapais, a dangerous friend, for, strong in his protection, they were sometimes allured into actions which impartial history can neither pass over in silence nor approve.

That the good friars came back to the field of their former labours, was undoubtedly an excellent thing. There was a place in New France for a much greater number of preachers of the Gospel. But the circumstances of their return were unhappy. Talon managed it all. He found that the bishop and the Jesuits were too severe in the prohibition of the liquor trade, that the colonists' conscience suffered constraint. His avowed intention was then to check, by means of the Récollets, the so-called tyranny of the existing clergy, bishop, Jesuits and Sulpicians as well. How groundless such accusations were, any impartial reader can judge from what has been related. Ill-doers always find that policemen and judges are too severe, and sinners, that preachers and confessors lack moderation and mercy. The number of priests sufficed to set at ease the conscience of all who intended to do right. At the bottom lay the question of the

liquor trade with the Indians. It was considered as a grievous sin by all the clergy in the colony, and the highest tribunal of theology in France, the Sorbonne, had declared it to be so. What was sin in the eyes of a Jesuit could it be a good deed in the eyes of a Récollet? Certainly not. But some, right or wrong, expected from the good friars greater condescension.

The king was induced to interfere personally. He not only ordered the Récollets by a letter of cachet to cross into New France, but he wrote to Mgr. de Laval that his intention, that is to say his will, was that the bishop "should grant to the provincial, Father Allard, and the four friars he led with him, powers of administering the Sacraments to all who might resort to their ministry; and, besides, use his authority in order that their properties in the country should be restored."

Mgr. de Laval, although he had not asked for the Récollets, received them with kindness and wrote a cordial letter of welcome to their provincial, Father Allard, in which he testified his own pleasure and the joy of the people at the arrival of their beloved former missionaries. It is an undeniable fact that they were most popular. Their life of strict poverty and of austerity, their complete disinterestedness,—for a Franciscan Friar cannot possess even one farthing, but entirely depends on alms for a living,—their good nature and joyful demeanour, their devotedness to all, will

always make them favourites with every class. A few exceptions cannot destroy the praiseworthy character of the order at large.

Canadians were truly pleased with their return. The owners of their property on the river St. Charles were easily brought to give it back, and until their monastery of Notre Dame des Anges was raised from its ruins, the friars took lodgings near the Ursulines convent.

Not long after their landing in Quebec, the bishop entrusted them with the missions of Three Rivers, Percé and river St. John. Among those who laboured in Gaspesia in his time, must be mentioned the famous Father Chrestien Leclercq, who went there in 1675. He published in 1691 his now very rare books: *La Relation de la Gaspésie* and *Le Premier Etablissement de la Foy*,[1] which are well written and contain precious information on the Franciscans' missions in Canada and on Cavalier de la Salle's discoveries. If some one hundred pages could be erased from the latter work, it would deserve unalloyed praise. About the same time lived and preached in Three Rivers Father Sixte le Tac, who emerged from oblivion when, in 1688, was issued, under his name, an unsigned manuscript entitled *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle-France*. Had the work

[1] The Champlain Society has republished the *Relation de la Gaspésie*. A copy of the *Premier Etablissement* has recently been placed on sale by a Parisian bookseller for the large amount of twelve thousand francs.

remained unpublished, Canadian history would have suffered no loss and it would have been a benefit to the poor father; the book, if he truly wrote it, does him little honour.

Récollets were also entrusted with the mission of Cataracoui and its neighbourhood, when Frontenac, in 1673, built there the fort which bore his name. Father Gabriel de la Ribourde was appointed almoner. Cavalier de la Salle had greatly helped the governor in the erection of Fort Frontenac. This celebrated and ill-fated discoverer had been a pupil of the Jesuits in the College of Rouen, and had even entered the noviciate and taken the vows, in 1660, in the Convent of Paris. But such a yoke lay too heavy on his ardent and impulsive nature. He was born for adventure and, in spite of high intellectual gifts, his daring, haughty and imperative disposition doomed him to failure and to misfortune. In 1677, after several ventures he obtained from the French court, through the protection of Frontenac, a patent of nobility with the concession of Fort Frontenac and a large grant of land in the neighbourhood. He was not contented. The spirit of discovery possessed his mind. He set out in 1678 on the grand undertaking which led him to glory,—a dearly purchased glory. Some Récollets were with him. One, Father Luc Buisset, remained in charge of Fort Frontenac. Another, Father Melithon Watteau, was left in the establishment begun at Niagara, and three

others, Fathers La Ribourde, Zénobe Membré and Louis Hennepin, followed the explorers. After a series of incidents, some happy, some unhappy, which cannot find place here, the Illinois river was reached and fort Crèvecœur built on its banks, in January, 1680. In February, Father Hennepin, by order of La Salle started therefrom to explore the north course of the Mississippi and discovered the falls of St. Anthony. Soon after he was taken a prisoner by the Sioux, from whose hands Greysolon du Luth happily succeeded in delivering him. If we were to believe his narration, he preceded by two years La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi, which the daring adventurer reached only in April, 1682. But, even without taking into account the material impossibility of the voyage in the period of time assigned for it, a simple perusal of the *New Discovery* suffices to show the contradiction of the author. Therefore Father Hennepin has left behind him a very poor reputation in the matter of sincerity and accurateness. His *Description de la Louisiane*, however, which he published in 1683, and his *Nouvelle Découverte*, 1697, have had so many translations and so many French and English editions that his name, despite the blemishes in his works, is truly illustrious.

When La Salle sailed from France in 1684 to make an establishment at the mouth of the Mississippi and met, in 1687, at the hands of

some of his men, with his woeful end, besides his brother, Jean Cavelier, a priest, and two Sulpicians, M.M. Chefdeville and Dainmaville, he had with him three Récollets, Fathers Zénobe Membré, Superior, Anastase Douay, and Maxime Leclercq, a brother to Father Chrestien.[1] A fourth one, Father Denis Morguet was prevented from accompanying him by sickness. Fathers Douay and Membré have left interesting and valuable narrations of these tragical events. Father Douay, with Jean Cavelier, young Cavelier, his nephew, and Joutel, succeeded in reaching fort Crèvecœur and Quebec in 1688, whence they sailed for France. The other friars and clergymen remained in charge of the families brought by La Salle. It is not unlikely that they perished when his establishment was utterly destroyed by the Texas Indians. Father Gabriel de la Ribourde had been killed by the Illinois, near fort Crèvecœur several years before.

According to Father Leclercq, the Récollets who followed La Salle were bearers of a decree of 1685, from the Congregation of the *Propaganda* which named Father Hyacinthe Lefevre prefect of the missions of Louisiana and granted the most ample powers to the four Récollets, who were to work there "notwithstanding," says the author, "the opposition of M. the Bishop of Quebec."

[1] Joutel says two only. Father Leclercq writes: De Maville, instead of Dainmaville.

But the failure of La Salle's views rendered that attempt at independence of no avail, and the Jesuit missionaries and even the priests of the Quebec seminary were to work a long time in Louisiana under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec!

As vicar-apostolic and, later, as bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Laval had authority over all the French possessions in North America. But the care of providing for the missions of such an immense territory did not prevent him from paying due attention to other matters that concerned the welfare of his flock. Among these are to be numbered education, charitable institutions and devices proper for the increase of piety.

Education will be spoken of in another chapter. As for charitable institutions, there were only two, the Hôtel Dieu of Quebec and the hospital of Montreal. It could suffice to quote the words of Sister St. Ligori, of the Congregation of Notre Dame: "I have always heard that he was a father to all the communities of his diocese. Ours, in particular, has always considered, and does still consider, him as such. Whenever he came on a visit he was always received with great joy."

One of his first visits, when he landed at Quebec, was to the Hôtel Dieu, and he greatly admired the virtues of the nuns, their devotedness in attending the sick. He kept, all his life, a fatherly affection for the community and frequently visited the

house, not only to console the sufferers but to encourage their charitable nurses. He, so severe with himself, even suppressed from their rules certain fasts which he judged incompatible with their tiring occupations.

But did he show the same kindness to the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Montreal hospital? That is the question.

It must be recalled that when they arrived in 1659, he had, as previously stated, retained them for some time in Quebec. They had been instituted by M. de la Dauversière, a layman, were not approved in Rome, and wore no religious garments. The bishop, besides, who was a good judge in the matter had remarked some strange things in their rules. He did what any other bishop would do; he advised them to unite with the sisters of the Quebec Hôtel Dieu, adopt their rules and dress. But when he saw that they firmly stuck to their views, he did more than many bishops would have done; he allowed them to continue their voyage and take charge of the hospital founded by Mlle. Mance, until further orders.

The letters of obedience he gave them show very clearly his apostolic spirit: "I allow you," he said, "to go to Montreal to manage and attend to the poor ailing people, men and women, French or Indian, according to the decency and purity that become your sex and your profession, and to live there according to your institution until I

order otherwise, and till all the conditions required for your regular establishment are fulfilled. Meanwhile I exhort you and enjoin on you to behave in such a manner that, through the examples of your life and your care of the poor sick people, it may be acknowledged that you are truly daughters of charity."

From the words,—"Till all the conditions required for your regular establishment are fulfilled," —it clearly appears that his hesitation came not from ill-will, but from true canonical motives.

Unhappily complications rendered the case still more intricate. M. de la Dauversière having died soon after their departure, it happened that twenty thousand livres, which formed their dowry, were seized to pay his debts. Mlle. Mance, besides, had given to M. de Maisonneuve twenty-two thousand livres, out of Mme. de Bullion's foundation, for the recruiting of 1653. It was all for the good of the Ville Marie settlement,—let this be acknowledged. The result, however, was that the poor sisters would have died from starvation but for the charity of the settlers. Is it then to be wondered if Mgr. de Laval inclined again towards uniting them to the Quebec Hôtel Dieu? If they refused he felt obliged to send them back to France. It was not his only reason. Even M. Faillon agrees that, on account of the simple vows taken by the sisters, some of them, discouraged by the austerities and privations, had, to the

surprise of the public, returned to secular life, while several Canadian girls, of virtue and good will, had not even been able to bear the severity of the noviciate

Nevertheless the bishop yielded to the Montreal colonists' request, and the nuns, whose merit, virtue and zeal were not in dispute, obtained permission to remain. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation noted down the fact with evident pleasure in her letters: "The good Mothers of the Montreal hospital," wrote she, "have been on the point of going back to France, their foundation having been seized and considered as lost. But our bishop, on the request of the Montreal colonists, has retained them; they are ladies of great virtue and great edification."

As for the union of the two communities it had to be given up, for, in 1666, on the demand of some French bishops, who had sisters of St. Joseph in their dioceses, that new order received regular confirmation by a decree of Pope Alexander VII

Mgr. de Laval had not been consulted, as he clearly should have been; is it surprising that when a venerable Sulpician presented to him the papal decree, he felt a little suspicious about it? It has been written about that affair, that he cherished *preventions* against the Sulpicians. He had no *preventions*, but he was diffident, and had he not some right to be suspicious? The reader very likely remembers, who had stubbornly, in the

beginning, disputed the authority of the vicar-apostolic? Who had surreptitiously obtained the creation of a parish in Montreal, in order to escape from his jurisdiction? To the impartial student of those early times, it is evident that Montreal wanted to be independent in religious as well as in civil matters. Maisonneuve had refused to Governor d'Argenson the key of the fort, and the Sulpicians, particularly when they became owners of the island, unconsciously harboured a similar disposition; they wanted to be masters for good. Independence is so dear to the human heart, even when it has promised obedience! But in the Church, much less than in the State, can such a thing be admitted? It is just as in the army, soldiers and officers must obey the general; no breach of discipline can be suffered. In those olden times, as nowadays, Sulpicians were saintly priests, most worthy of veneration and gratitude for the good they were doing in the country. When they determine to march abreast with the other Canadian clergy, and when Mgr. de Laval, named bishop of Quebec, sees his authority above contest, he will not spare them proofs of his confidence and benevolence.

During his pastoral visit to Montreal in 1678 he canonically erected the parish thereof and united it in perpetuity to the seminary of St. Sulpice, whose civil existence had recently been confirmed by letters patent. The Ville Marie

parish was to be ministered, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec, by such ecclesiastic as the superior of the seminary would choose.

"The priests of the seminary of St. Sulpice," said Mgr. de Laval, in his letters, "having by their care and their labours, for many years, produced in New France, and chiefly in Montreal, great fruit for the glory of God and the benefit of this new Church; and being besides, irreproachable in their faith, doctrine, piety, behaviour, I confer on them, in perpetuity, by virtue of these letters, all the parishes of the island of Montreal, in order that they be perfectly attended to, as until now they have been by the examples and preaching of these pious priests."

Mgr. de Laval, a few days later, united to the parish of Ville Marie, the famous little church of Notre Dame du Bon Secours, built through the endeavours of Marguerite Bourgeoys and finished in that same year, 1678.

But until that happy close of misunderstandings, is it not strange that a proof of his anti-Sulpician feelings was precisely an action he took in behalf of the sisters of St. Joseph? It has been said above that twenty-two thousand livres had been diverted from the foundation of the hospital by Mme. de Bullion, and given by Mlle. Mance to M. de Maisonneuve for a levy of colonists in 1653. Was it a gift or merely a loan? Had Mlle. Mance the right to change the destination of the donation

of the benefactress? Was not the Company of Notre Dame de Montreal, and consequently the Seminary of St. Sulpice, who had succeeded to their rights and accepted their debts, accountable for the amount? Mgr. de Laval thought so, and, seeing the state of destitution of the sisters, wished to oblige the Sulpicians to refund the money and take back one hundred acres of unproductive land granted as a compensation, which were to the hospital more of a burden than a profit. They refused to do so, on the ground that they had yearly to undergo immense expenses for the development of the island, and chiefly that Mme. de Bullion, now dead, had consented to the transaction. M. de Maisonneuve and Mlle. Mance bore witness to this, but there was no deed. The bishop was not satisfied and summoned, in 1666, the Sulpicians before the intendant, or rather before the Sovereign Council. These ecclesiastics were advised to appeal to the king's privy council, and there, it was decided, more on natural equity than according to legality, that, although Mlle. Mance had not sufficient power to engage the hospital, yet as the reinforcement had been a benefit to all the Montreal colony and to the hospital itself, the Seminary of St. Sulpice was obliged to no restitution. Mgr. de Laval continued to pursue the reparation of what in conscience he considered as an injustice, but his successor, Mgr. de St. Vallier, dropped the matter in 1695.

Such are the facts, and such is the judgment, the reader may accept or reverse it, as he please. One thing is certain: the sisters of St. Joseph had in their bishop a father and a protector.

While he took such interest in the charitable institutions of New France, Mgr. de Laval favoured all the pious devices he thought proper to increase faith and spiritual life among the people. It would be tiresome to most of my readers, to dwell on such topics, but they cannot be entirely omitted. It is remarkable that some of our early Canadian devotions have spread everywhere. Such are the worship of the Holy Family, and the feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph. The Récollets had chosen St. Joseph as early as 1624 as patron of Canada, and the Ville Marie settlement had for its object to honour the three persons of the Holy Family. Mgr. de Laval fostered these devotions. He even formed a confraternity of the Holy Family and issued in 1665 a mandement to spread it in all the localities under his jurisdiction. A feast was yearly celebrated, which, after having been special to French Canada, has been extended by the Holy See to all the Catholic world.

Confraternities of the Holy Rosary and of the Scapulars of Mont Carmel were established and the novena in honour of St. François-Xavier became a popular practice.

In 1666, on Sunday the 11th of July, Mgr. de Laval consecrated in a most solemn manner his

future cathedral. It was a stone building of one hundred by thirty-eight feet, in form of a Latin cross, on the same site as the present basilica. The steeple stood on the transcept and contained three bells cast in the country—at Beauport. It had to be taken down in 1680, because it threatened the whole edifice with destruction, and was replaced by a tower on a front corner. Nothing remains of that church, save the foundations of the heavy and ungraceful pillars of the Quebec basilica. It was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, another Canadian devotion of the early years, with St. Louis, King of France, as second titular.

But one of the most popular places of worship in the country was the poor wooden chapel of Sainte Anne du Petit Cap, because of the miracles which frequently happened there, and are occasionally mentioned in the *Journal* of the Jesuits. Father Morel, the zealous missionary of the district of Beaupré wrote a *relation* of some of these wonders which found place in the *Relation* of 1667.

Mgr. de Laval made frequent pilgrimages to Sainte Anne. He once went in company of M. de Tracy. He attributed to the protection of the blessed Mother of the Holy Virgin the chief blessing of his administration. "Nothing," he says, "has more efficaciously helped me to bear the weight of the pastoral charge than the special devotion of all the inhabitants of this country to Sainte Anne, a devotion which, I affirm

with certainty, distinguishes them from other nations."

The poor scantling chapel was replaced in 1675 by a stone church and by a third one during the lifetime of the prelate; there was placed the magnificent picture of Sainte Anne by Lebrun, a gift of M. de Tracy. It happily escaped the flames that a few years ago destroyed the rich basilica erected there to receive the ever increasing flow of pilgrims.

Another important matter now required the efforts of Mgr. de Laval—education.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION IN NEW FRANCE

ONE of the chief objects of Mgr. de Laval, when he sailed for France in 1662, was the erection of a seminary to form a clergy. It is time that this question of education, which was one of the great works of his life, should be studied. What his intentions were in founding the Seminary of Quebec is already known by the mandement he published in Paris in 1663 and which has been quoted above.

The first building of the seminary, its cradle, was precisely that priest's house built by M. de Bernières in 1661-62. There, on his return, in 1663, the bishop took his lodgings and remained until the first destruction of the seminary by fire in 1701.

In his report of 1664 to the Holy See on the state of the Church of New France, he said: "I have established a seminary in order that young Canadians aiming at priesthood may be initiated in ecclesiastical discipline, and I have entrusted its direction to six priests, who do their functions with zeal and success. I doubt not that this seminary will, God helping, bear much good fruit. I succeeded in procuring for it an income, to which I have added the tithes of the country by annexing to it all the parishes. The king has confirmed by

his authority all that I have done, and the deeds have been registered in the records of the Sovereign Council of this country."

He added that he lived in his seminary with his priests. These priests, already mentioned, were Henri de Bernières, Charles de Lauson-Charny, Jean Dudouyt, Thomas Morel, Ango des Maizerets, and Hugues Pommier.

Although a priest for a few years only, Henri de Bernières had been appointed rector of the parish of Quebec, canonically erected that very year, and united to the seminary. He was also unanimously chosen for first superior. Descended from one of the best families of Caen, graceful and kind, all his person disclosed his noble birth and distinguished education. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation said of him: "He is truly a gentleman who delights every one by his modesty."

Of Charles de Lauson-Charny, Mgr. de Laval wrote to the Pope: "He is a man of high birth, but still more remarkable by his piety, his prudence, his skill in affairs, than by his noble blood."

Ango des Maizerets belonged to that powerful Ango family of Rouen, which gave to the French marine so many distinguished men.

The only two secular priests who did not belong to the seminary were M. de Saint-Sauveur, late parish priest of Thury in Normandy, who ministered to the little chapel of Côte Ste. Geneviève, and M. Le Bey, chaplain of the Hôtel Dieu.

After the changes in the paying of tithes brought by the ordinance of 1679, most of the parochial clergy did not cease to be members of the seminary, and to render to it accounts of their revenue. And even after 1692 some secretly continued to do so. Nevertheless to be a member of the seminary, a great spirit of disinterestedness was required.

"All our property," wrote M. de Maizerets, to Denonville, "is in common with that of the bishop, I have never heard among us of any distinction between poor and rich, nor of any inquiry into the birth or condition of any one, considering one another as brethren." Such disinterestedness was the chief revenue of the seminary; its members, out of the six thousand livres assigned to the clergy as a living, took what was strictly necessary for their sustenance, all the rest went to the development of the institution. The friends of Mgr. de Laval had provided him with a small yearly income of one thousand livres; he gave it to his seminary, and also two thousand and five hundred which the Jesuits paid him every year, as much for a gratification as for the tithes of their seigniories. M. de Bernières, Maizerets and Dudouyt had in France patrimonial estates and received pensions from their families; every farthing was given to the seminary, and all account of each giver's liberality was purposely omitted, in order that he might never be mentioned and that no claim could ever be put in against the institution.

Out of these funds Mgr. de Laval was enabled to buy the magnificent Couillard estate crowning the Quebec promontory, on the east of the Hôtel Dieu and joining, on the north, the parish church.

The house where the bishop lived with his priests harboured in the meantime the young Canadians who prepared themselves for priesthood. The first two that entered the *Grand Séminaire*, have already been mentioned; they were Germain Morin and Louis Joliet. But the latter felt no true calling to the Church and returned to secular life, in which he was to reach lasting fame, chiefly by his discovery of the Mississippi. Both had been carefully educated in the Jesuits' college.

Mgr. de Laval perfectly understood that, to have in his Grand Seminary suitable subjects for priesthood, not only instruction, but a special training, was necessary, and that therefore means had to be devised to prepare future seminarists. Such was the origin of the Little Seminary of Quebec. It opened in 1668, on the 9th of October, in the old house of Guillaume Couillard, a relic of the past. The first pupils were fourteen in number, eight French and six Indians.

About the latter, the bishop wrote to his friend, the rector of St. Josse in Paris: "As the king has told me that he heartily desired that the Indian children should be brought up in the French manner, in order to form them to civilization, I have, for that purpose, opened a seminary and

taken therein a certain number. To succeed more easily, I have been obliged to add some French boys, from whom the Indians, through daily intercourse, might more readily pick up our language and customs."

He added that it was no easy task, because of the excessive fondness of Indian parents for their children. Their families were small in number, and they could with difficulty be brought to part with any of their offspring, and, if they did, it was only for a short time. Indian families had seldom more than two or three children, while the French settlers frequently brought up fifteen or sixteen, sometimes more. "However," he continued, "we will spare no pains to carry out happily such an important task. But success is very doubtful."

The king and his representatives had frequently insisted on that point. In a letter to Colbert, written a few days after his arrival at Quebec, Frontenac spoke thus regarding the Jesuits: "I have manifested to the Jesuits my wonder that, among the Indians who live with them at Notre Dame de Foy, there is none to be found able to speak French. I told them that in their missions, they should endeavour, when making the savages disciples of Christ, to render them in the meantime subjects of the king, that to obtain such a result they should inspire them with the desire of learning our language, try to render them more

sedentary, to divert them from a mode of life opposed to Christianity, whereas the best means to make them Christians was first to make them men."

Fine words! but words. The distance is sometimes long from the lips to the cup, and in the present case, it was. "That mingling of French and Indian boys," writes Latour, "considered as useful, brought no benefit to the latter and was detrimental to Canadians. . . . First it was very difficult to have any Indian children, and, despite all painstaking, their minds could never be opened to theological matters, nor their restlessness assuaged. After several years spent, against their will, in the seminary as in a prison, they, as soon as they could, fled away to wander as others in the woods."

All the Huron pupils ran away one after the other. The last who remained was claimed by his parents in 1673. They were never replaced.

But, even without the Indian boys, the pupils soon became too numerous for the small house of Couillard; and, to receive them in greater number, a stone building near the parish church, at right-angles with its apse, was begun in 1675. On the 8th of December, 1677, the students, entered that new *Petit Séminaire*. The inauguration took the form of a solemn celebration with a general communion, the hymn *Veni Creator*, the litany of the Infant Jesus, to whom the insti-

tution was dedicated, and a pious address from the founder and benefactor. Three years later Mgr. de Laval, with a feeling of legitimate satisfaction, could write to Cardinal Cibo that his seminary contained forty boarders and that he had, in that year, 1681, ordained eight priests born in the country.

A beautiful plan of Quebec in 1670, by Villeneuve, shows all those structures, with the exception of the new seminary, at the east end of the cathedral.

All have disappeared with the church itself. The first stone of the building, which was at that time considered as a marvel and is still a part of the old Quebec Seminary, was laid in 1678. Frontenac has described it in terms which he intended to be criticism, but which are really eloquent praise of Mgr. de Laval. "M. the Bishop himself," said he, "prevents us from doubting of his (substantial) income, by the great and grand buildings he is now erecting in Quebec, although he and his ecclesiastics were already more comfortably lodged than the governors. The palace he is building, according to Brother Luke (Lefrançois), who has drawn the plans, is to cost above four hundred thousand livres. However, notwithstanding his other and frequently unnecessary expenses, he has already completed one fourth of it. The structure is spacious with four stories; the walls are seven feet thick; the cellars and

storerooms are vaulted; the lower windows are in recess and the roof covered with slates brought from France. But, worst of all, that palace is built in the middle of a garden which has been levelled with the help of mines, and made plane with clay brought up from below the rocks over which it stretches. It is, besides, the only place where a fort could be erected for the defence of the harbour and of the vessels, which cannot be protected unless a battery be placed in that garden."

Every one who has seen old Quebec, knows that the seminary has not prevented the placing of the guns. They are still there on the brink of the cliff, in a long row facing the river. They are now silent. But even when they could thunder, what did they do for the protection of French Canada in comparison with the numerous men brought up and equipped for the battle of life in that house of Laval?

Who has done the more lasting work, the warrior or the bishop? Who has been the more beneficial to his country?

Mgr. de Laval said to his priests: "Let us endeavour to educate as many poor children as we can. If they do not all become churchmen, they will be family heads distinguished by their piety."

His mind was not so narrow as to think of forming priests only. He extended his care to all classes of persons. Of this he gave a proof not only by favouring education at large, as we shall

presently see, but by the school of art and trades he established at St. Joachim, and which was quite a novelty in his time. A farm was annexed to it and, while some young men applied themselves to improved agriculture, others became sculptors, joiners, painters, or studied other mechanical trades. Records have been kept of the teachers and students of St. Joachim. They have left traces of their skill in a few of our old churches, for instance in St. Anne de Beaupré, Château-Richer, and Ange-Gardien. La Potherie valued at ten thousand livres the sculptures of the chapel of the seminary, due to their chisel, and unhappily destroyed by fire in 1701. A beautiful oak statue of the Virgin, venerated in St. Foy church for more than two centuries, is the work of a director of that school, Father Le Prévost, who was parish priest of St. Foy from 1714 to 1756. The first director of the school was Louis Soumande, a pious Canadian priest. Mgr. de Laval had that institution much at heart, and it was one of his favourite resorts to find repose from his fatiguing labours, and, in his late years, a consolation amidst his many trials. He founded pensions there for a certain number of young men. In 1701 he even consecrated eight thousand livres to keeping in the school of St. Joachim a professor to teach "a beginning of humanities" to the pupils who benefited by his pensions, in order that they might become proficient in a then rare but neces-

sary profession, school-teaching. M. Soumande followed his example of generosity. And so came into existence the first Normal School in Canada. To praise such breadth of view and such deeds would be superfluous!

Mgr. de Laval had put his seminary under the protection of the Holy Family. He desired to have it united to the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, founded in Paris in 1663 and confirmed by the Pope in 1664. The union was signed in Paris, in 1665, by the proxies of Mgr. de Laval, and renewed in 1675, when he had become, in title, bishop of Quebec.

According to Latour, a similar union with the powerful institution of St. Sulpice was attempted, but without success.

To secure a living for his seminary, Mgr. de Laval, as has been said, had allotted to it all the parish tithes. But he understood that such a foundation was precarious and he shewed his foresight and his prudence by acquiring landed properties which would be a much more solid security. He bought the immense seigniory of Beaupré, from the Montmorency river to bay St. Paul, the island of Orleans, the St. Michael cove, below Sillery point, and obtained concession of the seigniory of the Petite Nation, on the Ottawa river. During his visit to Paris, in 1671-1675, mentioned in the next chapter, he exchanged, with François Berthelot, the island of Orleans for the island of Jesus near Montreal and received

an indemnity of twenty-five thousand livres, which he applied to his seminary. Berthelot had the island of Orleans erected into an earldom, which was for some time a cause of contention.

All of these properties were destined for the Seminary of Quebec, and were later bestowed on it by the bishop with all that he possessed.

To complete the account of education under the great bishop, it must be added that it was not limited to the Seminary of Quebec. It was even much more extended than is generally admitted by our historians, chiefly Garneau. Ignorance was not so common among ancient French Canadians as it has pleased some writers to assert. Among these are not to be included either Latour or Charlevoix, although they say that the Canadian children, clever and intelligent as they were, had too much love for independence and adventures, to be constrained to long studies. Long studies are not always necessary to pick up some instruction. It must not be forgotten that the College of the Jesuits existed since 1635. In 1651 a solemn reception, according to the *Journal*, was given M. de Lauson, with a Latin speech and French verse,—*latina oratione et versibus gallicis*,—which indicate a true classical training. It is clear that in 1655 all the classes of a regular course were taught. On his arrival in 1659, Mgr. de Laval wrote to the Holy See: "In Quebec, the Jesuits have a college in which the classes of humanities

are flourishing, and children brought up and educated in the same manner as in France."

In 1670 Father Lalemant wrote that the bishop of Petræa, wishing to form a clergy for the country parishes, and unable to secure them from France, cast his eyes on the students of the college who, after their humanities, felt inclined to study philosophy. "As we were alone to do it," says he, "we set on the task, and opened classes of mathematics, moral and scholastic theology, so that five or six of these students have been promoted to minor orders. Monseigneur has in our college, besides our own, twelve or thirteen pupils, who aim at that sort of acquirements."

It is to be remarked that not only the inmates of the Grand Seminary followed the classes in the Jesuits' college, but also those of the Little Seminary. Classes opened in the Quebec seminary only after the conquest. In the days of Mgr. de Laval both institutions aimed only to preserve from the dangers of the world the children and youths who intended to devote themselves to the service of the altars. They were, by pious and devoted priests, formed to piety, to modesty and discipline. They learned plain-chant and ceremonies and took part in the Sunday offices.

"They have such a devout demeanour," said Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, "that they inspire the faithful with piety."

But not only those who intended to acquire an

advanced education were attended to: there were also some elementary, or grammar schools, in different localities. The Jesuits had one in Quebec, and the seminary opened another one, which was soon in a flourishing condition.

Such schools were to be found at Cape Tourmente, Château-Richer, Notre Dame de Foy, Pointe de Lévis, Sainte Famille, I.O., and Three Rivers. In this last locality, Severin Ameau, a notary public, taught school as early as 1652, and, in 1664, Mgr. de Laval wrote in his report that he had sent there some aged ladies to teach the little ones. These were two nuns of the Congregation, sister Raisin and a companion.

Montreal schools for boys deserve a special mention. The Sulpicians themselves did not consider it beneath their dignity to become schoolmasters. M. Souart even took the title of "First schoolmaster of this country." In 1666 two Sulpicians were sent from Paris for that purpose. Another came in 1672. But even when taught by laymen, the little schools of Ville Marie remained under the direction of the Seminary of St. Sulpice and became very prosperous. It is not unlikely that other localities, as Contrecœur, Boucherville, Longueuil, to which the Sulpicians ministered for a long time, had similar schools. Lachine certainly had. M. Remy, the Sulpician parish priest, had succeeded, before 1685, in having, in the person of his church singer, a schoolmaster.

Let us add the school founded in 1694, in Montreal, by Claude Charon and his companions, the "Brothers Hospitaliers of St. Joseph de la Croix."

All these facts, succinctly pointed out here, are vouched for by documents of the epoch, and show that the education of young Canadians was not neglected.

But priests, monks and laymen were not alone at work in that field. Two communities of women have been, in matters of education, an inestimable blessing to this country: The Ursulines of Quebec and the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal.

The Ursulines had come to Quebec in 1639 under the direction of Marie Guyard, better known by her religious name of Mother Marie de l'Incarnation. That celebrated nun, one of the greatest women who ever honoured New France, was the widow of one Claude Martin, a French silk manufacturer of Tours. She had a son who became a Benedictine, remarkable for the holiness of his life. To him, Dom Claude Martin, have been addressed the greatest number of these letters, which by their simplicity, grace of style and the interest of the subjects treated, have established the literary fame of their author, and which are, with the Jesuits' *Relations*, one of the most precious sources of our early history. She led a most devoted spiritual life, but displayed in the

meantime, in the important material affairs she had to manage, a most clever and practical genius.

The Ursulines first taught French and Indian girls in a miserable hovel in the lower town. They entered their monastery in the upper town in 1642. It was built through the generosity of Madeleine de Chauvigny, Dame de la Peltrie, who had followed the nuns for that purpose.

Mother Marie de l'Incarnation says in 1652: "On the very morrow of our arrival in Quebec, all the little girls, French and savage as well, were brought to us." She repeated in 1664: "There is none that does not pass through our hands." This is chiefly to be understood of those who lived in Quebec. But even from the country, all parents that could afford it, brought their daughters to the Ursulines. They paid what they could. Here is, for instance, the payment received for the tuition of one Miss C.

Received, January, 13, 3 cords of wood.

Received, March, 6, 4 cords of wood.

Received, March, 13, 1 jar of butter, 13 pounds.

Received, November, 13, 1 fat pig, 1 barrel of salt eels.

The Ursulines established a convent in Three Rivers in 1697, where they continued the tasks they had been doing in Quebec for more than half a century. If the large part of the mother, in the education of children, is taken into consideration, it is easy to appreciate what happy influence the

good sisters had on the formation of those patriarchal families of New France.

What Mother Marie de l'Incarnation did in Quebec, the saintly Marguerite Bourgeoys, founder of the Congregation of Notre Dame, did, even on a larger scale, in Montreal.

Arrived in Canada in 1653, she began to teach school, with one Marguerite Picaud, in a stone stable that M. de Maisonneuve first lent, and afterwards conceded, to her. There she gathered girls and boys that wished to be instructed. In 1658 she crossed the sea and returned a year after with three helpmates.[1] Such were the beginnings of the Congregation of Notre Dame. The sisters had not yet received canonical approbation. They taught both girls and boys until 1665 or 1666. In 1670 Sister Bourgeoys returned to France and obtained in May, 1671, letters patent from the king which confirmed the existence of her association. A quotation will show what work the sisters were doing. "Marguerite Bourgeoys has settled in Montreal, with some other girls forming a community in which she does the function of schoolteacher, and instructs gratuitously young girls in all trades useful to earn their living, with such progress, by the continual graces of Holy Providence, that she is not a charge on the country. . . . We confirm by these present letters the said Congregation in the Island of Montreal."

[1] Supra p. 85.

Mgr. de Laval had already, in 1669, during a visit to Montreal, given to the sisters of the Congregation a document by which he praised and approved their calling "of educating little girls in the fear of the Lord and the practice of Christian virtues."

In 1676 he gave a solemn approbation to the new society: "Considering," he said, "that one of the greatest benefits I can procure to my church and the most efficacious means to preserve and increase piety in Christian families, is the instruction and good education of the children; considering also the blessing God has granted to Sister Bourgeoys and her helpmates in the functions of the little schools to which they have been applied, I have acknowledged and I do acknowledge them and allow them to live in a community."

The Congregation soon opened schools out of Montreal, and even during the lifetime of Mgr. de Laval were entrusted with some country convents still in existence.

Two sisters were at Champlain in 1683. In 1690 they opened a school at Pointe aux Trembles near Montreal. M. Lamy, parish priest of Ste. Famille, in the island of Orleans, in 1685 secured the services of the Sisters Anne and Marie Barbier to take charge of a school in his parish. He and François Berthelot, the new count of St. Laurent, generously contributed to the foundation. Another

school entrusted to the congregation of Notre Dame, was that of Château-Richer, where the Seminary of Quebec built for them in 1693 a large and costly stone house. A few years after the death of Mgr. de Laval, Neuville, the Pointe aux Trembles of Quebec, had also its convent of the Congregation.

Besides school for the little ones, the sisters established, in 1690, their House of La Providence, which would now be called a house-keeping school. There they instructed girls, who had passed the school age, in all the vocations of their sex. A similar school was opened in Quebec. Both were closed about 1692, the sisters having considered as more in conformity with their vocation and of greater urgency to prepare schoolteachers. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier wrote in 1688: "From that institution have come forth several female schoolteachers who have gone to different places, where they teach catechism to children and give touching and very useful addresses to persons of their sex more advanced in years." He might have added that they also taught reading, writing and arithmetic.

That bishop, like his venerable predecessor, had a great esteem for Marguerite Bourgeoys and her association. In 1689, wishing to found a general hospital he wrote of his design to the good sister, who to meet his wishes set out on foot, in April, through melting snows, on a voyage to Quebec.

Her community remained in charge of the hospital until 1692, when it was entrusted to the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu. The sisters of the Congregation were, instead, charged with establishing schools in Quebec, a function more in conformity with the spirit of their institution.

In 1693, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier founded an annuity of eight hundred livres to help the community to furnish sisters to country parish priests. In 1698 he had rules prepared for the Congregation of Notre Dame, which were adopted. On the 24th of June, 1698, twenty-five sisters took their vows in Montreal, and a month and a half later, on the 4th of August, the sisters who kept the schools in Quebec, Château-Richer and the island of Orleans, performed the same ceremony in the chapel of the Quebec seminary.

Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys lived to see the providential development of her institution. She died in 1700 at the good old age of seventy-nine. She out-lived her good friend and protector, M. de Maisonneuve, who died in Paris in 1676, one year before M. de Queylus. He had been deprived of his government of Montreal, in 1665, by M. de Tracy, as "unable," according to Sister Morin, "longer to occupy the position and rank of governor."

Several other benefactors of the colony disappeared about that same time: Mme. de la Peltrie, in 1671; Mother Marie de l'Incarnation in

1672; Mlle. Mance in 1673,—who all deserve immortal memory in the heart of French Canadians.

All were great servants alike of God and of the country. But Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, specially, and Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys are so esteemed for holiness that proceedings for beatification have been begun in Rome. The heroism of their virtues has been proclaimed and they are honoured with the title of *Venerable*.

CHAPTER XVI

BISHOP OF QUEBEC

MGR. DE LAVAL had sailed for France in 1671 to obtain the erection of Quebec into a bishopric. One of the reasons for which the erection of this bishopric was delayed was that the king intended to have it dependent upon the archbishop of Rouen. But this the Congregation of the Propaganda would not admit, and it declared, in a decree of 1666 and again in 1670, that the new see should depend immediately on the Holy See. François de Harlay who had not forgotten his fanciful Canadian domain, used all his influence to retain over it at least a shadow of authority. Having happily succeeded, in 1671, the late archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe de Beaumont, he lost all his interest in, and dropped all his pretensions to, New France. On the other hand, old Clement X had taken, in 1670, with a firm hand the reins of Church government. Such were the happy circumstances when Mgr. de Laval reached France. In 1672 the king wrote to the Duke d'Estrées, his ambassador in Rome, to insist no more on the union of the bishopric of Quebec to Rouen. "My desire," he said, "is that you renew your entreaties to His Holiness, without

adhering to that condition, if the Holy Father is still opposed to it."

The bulls for the erection of the Quebec bishopric and the nomination of Mgr. de Laval to the new see were signed on the 1st of October, 1674, but did not reach him before the spring of 1675. One raised the little borough of Quebec to the rank of a city, and the parish church to the dignity of a cathedral. The parish was suppressed and the care of souls entrusted to the bishop, who must provide for them either by keeping in office the actual parish priest or by a Chapter, which he was obliged to establish as soon as possible, or in any other manner he might find convenient.

The bull which transferred François de Laval from the Church of Petræa to the bishopric of Quebec, contained high praise of the virtues and labours of the new titular.

It is fortunate that the bulls were obtained at that moment, because soon after began between the courts of Rome and of France, about the abusive right of *Régale*, troubles that might have postponed the affair for several years more.

While awaiting the conclusion of that question, Mgr. de Laval profited by his leisures to visit, in the diocese of Bourges, his abbey of Maubec, which existed from the middle ages. King Dagobert had built the monastery and enriched it with large landed property. The abbey possessed beautiful farms and vineyards, fine meadows, ponds

full of fish and forests abounding with game. But the charges were heavy: besides a decent living for the Benedictines, who lived in the abbey, the buildings had to be kept in good condition, even some to be rebuilt, and a tenth to be paid to the public treasury. The bishop made an agreement with the monks about the annuity they required. In the deed it is said that the abbey of Maubec has been granted to Mgr. de Laval "as a perpetual foundation and income for the bishop of Quebec and for the establishment of canons who shall for a perpetuity do divine service in the cathedral of Quebec."

The new commendatory abbot visited all the farms and dependencies and felt sadly affected by the ruinous state of the buildings, which had suffered much from the wars of religion or from neglect.

The union of the abbey with the bishopric of Quebec was confirmed on the 9th of September, 1673, by the archbishop of Bourges, on condition that the bishop of Quebec and his successors should be obliged to acquit or cause to be acquitted all the charges attached to the functions and suppressed title-deeds of the abbey. The confirmation by Rome was contained in the bulls of the 1st of October, 1674.

Another abbey, named Lestrées, was granted, in 1672, to the bishopric of Quebec. It possessed also fine vineyards and rich pastures, but the buildings

were in such a state of decay that Mgr. de Laval, even before the concession was confirmed in Rome, judged prudent to have some parts taken down and to erect new ones. But the Cistercian monks, who lived in the monastery and viewed with displeasure the new abbot, complained to their superior-general in Rome, and some trouble followed, which abated only when the excellent intentions of the bishop were known. Lestrées, however, was not canonically committed to the bishopric of Quebec until under Mgr. de St. Vallier. Mgr. de Laval alloted the revenue therefrom, for a determined amount, to François Berthelot, who used the pastures to feed the horses he kept for the French army. It is with that same Berthelot that he exchanged, as we have seen, his seigniory of the island of Orleans for the island of Jesus. In the deed, he undertook to look after the property on behalf of the new owner, who never came to Canada. On his return, he entrusted with that care Denis Roberge, the ancient and trustworthy servant of M. de Bernières.

The abbey of Lestrées was in Normandy and not far from Montigny, birth-place of François de Laval. He profited by his visits to the abbey to see again his natal house and his family. He went to Montigny in 1673 and 1675, before his return to Canada, mainly as an act of Christian charity. From several letters of the time, which it is unnecessary to reproduce, it clearly appears that

his brother Jean-Louis was not of a temper to make happy those around him. His wife, Françoise de Chevestre, suffered greatly from his frequent fits of passion. He was, besides, a spendthrift, and soon fell into such straitened circumstances that the bishop had more than once to give him substantial assistance, and to help him in the education of his six boys. Mgr. de Laval therefore went twice to Montigny to console and encourage his sister-in-law and take her children under his protection. He even stood as godfather to one who was baptized at the age of seven, in the village church, and called François after his own name. This boy was sent to the Seminary of Quebec in 1676. But one of his brothers bearing the same name and two years older was already there from 1674. To distinguish them the younger was familiarly called *Fanchon*. It does not seem that either had any talent or even a happy disposition. Certainly they had no ecclesiastical calling. Both were sent back to France after a few years and took service in the navy.[1] However, a younger brother, Charles François Guy, after much hesitation and languishing studies, settled down to his books in earnest, became vicar-general of the archbishop of Cambrai, Fénelon, and later, bishop of Ypres.

Mgr. de Laval, when all his affairs had been settled, was anxious to return to Canada. On the

[1] See *Canada Français*, May, 1925.

23rd of April, 1675, he took his oath of fidelity to the king and, in company with a distinguished priest of Orleans, M. Glandelet, sailed from France on the 29th of May.

He had left to his brother Henri, prior of La Croix Saint Leuffroy, powers of vicar-general for the management of the affairs of the Quebec church in Europe.

His arrival in Quebec, in the beginning of September, 1675, caused great joy, so much greater because, during his long absence of four years, several things had happened which required his firmness of hand and the authority of his character.

The first, which roused the keenest interest and the greatest turmoil, was occasioned by François Perrot, Governor of Montreal, in 1673. Perrot is worthy of little sympathy. Stiff, greedy, irascible, unable to curb his words or actions, he had incurred the ire of another man, who himself easily forgot measure in the use of power. Frontenac had heard that in spite, of his prohibitions, canoes had been sent on fur-trading expeditions, and he despatched Bizard, lieutenant of his guard, to arrest the guilty parties. Perrot, being interested in the affair, insulted and ill-treated the officer. He was ordered down to Quebec, set into prison, and, although he several times denied their jurisdiction, the Council began his trial.

Nothing very serious in all this, save perhaps an

excess of severity. But Perrot had in Montreal a friend in the person of the Abbé de Fénelon, the former missionary of the Bay of Kenté, brother of the illustrious archbishop of Cambrai, belonging, like many other Sulpicians, to a rich and powerful family. He felt, therefore, no excess of timidity even at the pealings of Frontenac's thunder.

On Easter, 1674, he preached a sermon in which the friends of the governor, among whom was Cavelier de la Salle, then in Montreal, saw offensive allusions. "He who is invested with authority," said the preacher, "must not disturb his subjects; but he is bound to treat them as his children, to behave as a father. He should not trouble the commerce of the country by ill-treating such as do not grant him a share of their profits, but be satisfied with gaining through honest ways. He is to be blamed if he trample people down and molest them by heavy extra-work-*corvées*—for his own personal interests. He must not either have creatures to praise him everywhere, or oppress persons who serve the same prince, because they oppose his undertakings. . . . He finally has reverence for the priests and the ministers of the Church."

If to the imprisonment of Perrot is joined the recent building of Fort Frontenac, by means of *corvées* imposed on the inhabitants, it is difficult to think that the Abbé, in his general expressions, had no personal meaning.

When informed, the governor asked for an authenticated copy of the speech. It was refused.

"I have spoken before two hundred persons," said M. de Fénelon, "they may be interrogated. As for me, I am not guilty, and if I were, which I squarely deny, I could not be obliged to contribute to my own condemnation." In consequence he was summoned before the Sovereign Council and appeared on the 21st of August. He took exception to the governor being both his judge and prosecutor. The exception was mere common sense. However, he was arrested and cast into prison. He then appealed to the ecclesiastical tribunals, which, in fact, according to the rules of the Church, had alone authority to judge the case. He also took exception to all the councillors on the ground that some were Frontenac's friends and others his creatures. But the more the councillors saw their authority disputed, the more firmly they clung to it. The vicar-general and official, M. de Bernières, was brought before the council and reprimanded for having accepted the request of M. de Fénelon. Two Sulpicians, M. Rémy and de Francheville, were fined for having refused to appear before the council. But despite all the turmoil, innumerable sittings, and orations, the affair was not judged here.

François Perrot and the Abbé de Fénelon were sent to France in the fall of 1674. When the case had been elucidated, Louis XIV wrote to Frontenac

and, as a bit of comfort, told him that Perrot had been sent to the Bastille for some time, to teach him, and such as would imitate his conduct, a salutary lesson, but that measures should not be taken in the territory of a particular governor without giving him notice. As for the Abbé de Fénelon, he had been ordered not to return to Canada. "But," said the king, "he should have been put in the hands of his bishop or of the grand vicar, to be punished according to ecclesiastical laws or arrested and sent to France on the first ship."

But the bitterest liquor was at the bottom of the cup. "I have heard," added Louis XIV, "that you would not allow ecclesiastics and others to perform their functions and go on their missions, or even to leave their place of residence, without a passport from Montreal to Quebec; that you frequently ordered them before you for slight reasons; that you intercepted their letters, and did not allow them to write any. If these or part of these things are true, you must amend yourself."

The letter was of April, 1675. Another from Colbert, about the same time, warned the governor not to repress with too much severity the faults that might be committed against his person or dignity.

Civil power had then a propensity to interfere in vestryroom affairs. Church wardens were again on the carpet. An ordinance of 1668 gave precedence over them to the judges. In 1672, M. de

Bernières, who governed the Quebec church during the bishop's absence, conceded this to the councillors. But Frontenac's will was that all the officers of justice, even of inferior rank, should, through all the country, receive the same honour. They were to have, at Quebec, a seat after the councillors, and, in other churches, after the local governors and the seigneurs. On the 4th of March, 1675, the Sovereign Council issued a decree to that effect, and ordered it to be placarded in all the localities of the colony. M. de Bernières vainly tried to protect the right of the churchwardens; the council answered his protestation by enforcing the execution of the decree on pain, for the parish priests and ecclesiastics who would oppose it, of the seizure of their property.

These abusive regulations gave rise to another noisy quarrel. In Lévis the attorney, Genaple, could not read the decree, or even succeed in having it posted up. He attributed his mishap to M. Thomas Morel, the devoted missionary of Lauson. Guillaume Couture, seneschal and captain of the locality, lodged a complaint before the council against the zealous priest. M. Morel, as was his right, refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the council and brought his case before the officiality. Having, besides, declined to answer the questions of De Peyras, sent to make an inquest, he was arrested in the seminary where he had his lodgings, and led to Château Saint Louis

in order that he might be constrained by prison to make his submission. There the priest remained from the 26th of June to the 22nd of July. Romain Becquet, promoter of the officiality, was also imprisoned for having refused to deliver the records of that ecclesiastical tribunal. M. Dudouyt had to show the existence of the Quebec officiality by all the deeds which conferred on Mgr. de Laval his title and powers of vicar-apostolic of New France, with his bulls and the royal letters by which they were confirmed. He proved that the case belonged to the ecclesiastical judges and that it would be an injustice to detain longer a good priest whose services were required in the parochial ministry. Precisely about that same time Guillaume Couture had a request before the council to complain that although the inhabitants of Lauson paid the tithes, they remained sometimes six months without divine service. The council, contrary to their habits, softened down, and, without discussing the titles of the officiality, ordered the immediate release of M. Morel "on the bail of M. de Bernières and M. Dudouyt."

This was on the 22nd of July. It is not unlikely that, if the letter of April, from the king, had not yet reached Quebec, news at least had come of the displeasure caused in the French court by the arbitrary proceedings in the Perrot-Fénelon affair, and the councillors felt not sorry to find such an easy issue from an annoying muddle.

The council, entirely of the choice and at the disposal of the governor since the departure of Mgr. de Laval, evidently needed, as much as Frontenac himself, a reformation. The proper remedy to such abuses of power was applied by the edict which reorganized the Sovereign Council and by the nomination of Jacques Duchesneau as intendant of New France. The edict, as well as the commission of the intendant, was of the 5th of June, 1675. Both were registered respectively on the 16th and the 23rd of September with the provisions of the new councillors. It is clear, after the letters of Louis XIV and of Colbert, quoted above, that the changes in the council came from the complaints against the haughtiness and petty tyranny of Frontenac, and that the royal intention was to cut short in future such causes of discontent.

The number of councillors was increased from five to seven, and they were named by the king himself for life "in order that being permanent in their charge, they might consecrate themselves more entirely to the study of law and to public service, and be more qualified to render justice."

The first place after the governor belonged to the bishop, or, in his absence to his grand vicaire. The king expressly ordered "that one member of the council should always belong to the ecclesiastical order." Later, besides the bishop or his grand vicaire, another ecclesiastic shall by right belong to the council.

The first councillor named was Rouer de Villeray, who had been kept out of charge from 1670. The others were Charles Le Gardeur de Tilly, Mathieu Damours, Nicolas Dupont, René-Louis Chartier de Lotbinière, Jean-Baptiste de Peyras and Charles Denis de Vitré. Denis Joseph Rouëtte d'Auteuil became attorney-general, and Peuvret du Mesnu was maintained in his office of clerk until the will of the king should be known, Gilles Rageot having been by error appointed in his place.

As for Duchesneau, he received the same powers as Talon for the administration of justice, police and finances in all the French dominions of North America. He had the third place in the council, but was president in the absence of the governor, with "the same functions and privileges as the first presidents of French courts." He had besides the power in civil matters to judge alone and sovereignly. It was his duty to protect the inferior judges, and to see that justice should be rendered after the edicts, ordinances of the king and according to the *Coutume* of Paris. As the Company of the West Indies had ceased operations in 1674, and the king had taken back for good the mastership of all French settlements, Duchesneau had to manage all the measures required by the new state of things. To him was entrusted the distribution of moneys, provisions, ammunition as well as fortifications belonging to the State.

The intendant's authority in the council was,

in fact, much more effective than the governor's, whose presidency was rather an honour than a reality. It was the intendant who asked for opinions, received votes and pronounced sentences. Frontenac, after having led the council as he wished, was no man to accept without resisting such an inferior part. His quarrels with Duchesneau about the presidency of the council have remained famous and he sometimes gave way to fits of anger or to acts of tyranny which do little honour to a man of his position. He once had Councillor Damours imprisoned for a trifle. Another time, because some councillors—D'Auteuil, de Villeray and de Tilly—interfered between the intendant and himself to abate for a while their fight for the title of president, he exiled them from Quebec until he could send them to France. But Tilly made his peace, D'Auteuil already sick, died (1679). Villeray alone crossed the sea and returned in 1680 with a letter from the king to Frontenac, still more severe than that of 1675.

"All the communities," said Louis XIV, "and almost all private persons complain with details so clear that I cannot doubt of many ill-treatments, which are entirely opposed to the moderation you should have. You have claimed that in the records of the council you should be qualified chief and president: it is wholly in contradiction to my edict of 1675 for the establishment of that council. I am the more surprised at that pretension, as I

am sure that in all my kingdom you only, being honoured with the dignity of Governor, and of my lieutenant-general, would desire the title of president of a council like that of Canada."

The king advised him afterwards to desist from his pretension and to have more moderation in his actions, since his conduct towards some councillors could receive no approval. "If not for the express assurance that your friends have given to me of more moderate conduct for the future, I would have determined to recall you."

While the action of Frontenac in the council was muzzled in that manner, the authority of Mgr. de Laval received a new confirmation. The rights of the grand vicaire, which, during the bishop's absence, had been brought into contempt, were also clearly proclaimed.

The two questions that were to raise differences between the two great men were the liquor trade and the establishment of regular parishes.

CHAPTER XVII

FINAL LABOURS OF MGR. DE LAVAL

THE trade in liquors, after the decree of the Sovereign Council in 1668, even with the restriction added in 1669, caused such evils in New France that Mgr. de Laval determined to send one of his most able priests, M. Jean Dudouyt, to plead in France the cause of morality and of the salvation of souls.

M. Dudouyt left in 1676 and had two interviews with Colbert, of which reports have been preserved. For brevity's sake, let it suffice to say here that the minister seemed ill-disposed and prejudiced against the bishop and his messenger. The first time M. Dudouyt was admitted to his presence, on April 27th, 1677, Colbert would not take into account the Sorbonne's decision on the sin of selling liquors to the savages. When the priest complained of the small income granted to the Canadian clergy, he answered that they could not be contented. He evidently had too easily lent an ear to the accusations of Frontenac and of all who profited by the pernicious traffic.

Colbert went so far as to write to Duchesneau: "It is clear that the bishop is a man of good will who does his duty; but he has a liking for domin-

ation much greater than any bishop in Christendom and chiefly in France. Perhaps it would be good if he had no seat in the council. . . . You might examine if a means could not be found to inspire him with the desire of going no more to the sittings."

The edict of the reorganization of the council, however, was only two years old! Why was the bishop now judged a cumbersome member? Because, there and elsewhere, he opposed, by all means in his power, the poisoning by brandy of the poor Indians and of many French victims as well. When the baleful effects of intoxicating liquors, even nowadays, and even among the so-called civilized nations, are taken into consideration, who can refrain from cursing such a plague? If William Penn and Governor Andros have been praised, the one for having banished that poison from his peaceful colony, and the other for having offered to the French governors an agreement to prohibit its sale among the Indians, how could Mgr. de Laval be blamed for his humane, generous and unceasing efforts? He had already excommunicated liquor traders and had been approved by the Sorbonne. He now declared selling brandy to the savages to be a reserved case, that is to say, a sin which ordinary confessors had no power to absolve, but the bishop alone or a priest having received special faculties.

He again got the approbation of the celebrated

school of theology, but not that of the sellers. And who, at that time, had no interest in that sale? Who could wash his hands in pure water from the well? Could great Frontenac himself?

Colbert, however, who had at first unfavourably received M. Dudouyt, was not without anxiety. He also complained of being refused absolution on account of the trade of liquors among Indians. Confessors, therefore, in France felt as in Canada. He wished to see the priest again and received him with greater cordiality, on the 11th of May, in his princely mansion of Sceaux. But, in spite of all arguments and proofs, he could not be convinced that to sell liquors to the savages was worse than to sell some to the French. He chiefly objected to the reserved case. M. Dudouyt then advised Mgr. de Laval to suspend for some time that penalty and to prepare a memoir on the subject, while Duchesneau received orders also to prepare one.

In the meantime the king sent word to Frontenac to convoke a meeting of the chief inhabitants of the country and of the councillors and to have a vote taken on the brandy question. The assembly took place on the 28th of October, 1678, and was composed of all those who were interested in the traffic. No need to be a prophet or son of a prophet to foresee what was to happen. Take now the advice of tavern-keepers on the evils of liquor selling and drinking! "Nothing under the sun is

new," says the wise man, neither is any man able to say: "Behold this is new."

Councillors Dupont and de Peyras were sent to bring the result to the French court. It perfectly accorded with the views of Talon, Colbert and Frontenac.

The emergency was of great consequence for the Canadian Church. Mgr. de Laval, is spite of frequent indispositions and of the fatigues of a long pastoral visit through his diocese, determined to sail again to France.

The king in the full triumphs of the treaty of Nimègue, which attached rich provinces to his crown, received the bishop with great favour, but, for the affairs of his diocese, remitted him to his confessor, Father de la Chaise, and to the archbishop of Paris. Bossuet also perused the memoirs sent from Canada and gave his advice to Colbert. Finally was rendered the ordinance of May, 1679, "prohibiting to carry intoxicating liquors to the Indian villages distant from the French habitations." The bishop could gain no more. It was better than nothing, and, had the ordinance been seriously applied, much evil could have been avoided. But what could be expected of Frontenac, who, for a fee, granted permission to hunt in the forest to a distance of three hundred miles? While on the one hand, the king forbade hunting further than three miles from the French settlements, Frontenac, on the other, obtained an un-

limited power to grant for three months permissions or *congés* for hunting everywhere. How could hunters be prevented from selling liquors!

Disorders increased in such a manner that Governor de la Barre, successor of Frontenac in 1682, established, against the liquor trade, ordinances that were not successful. Denonville also considered brandy "as one of the greatest evils of Canada." M. Dollier de Casson wrote in 1691: "I have been for twenty-six years in this country, and I have seen our Algonquin missions, flourishing and numerous, all destroyed by drunkenness."

In 1699, La Potherie wrote in his turn: "I witness much intoxication in this town [Montreal]. There are continual fights among the savages who eat one another, nose, ears and face. . . . Lack of watching over low-grade taverns is the cause of all such disturbances."

Of a necessity, old regulations had to be renewed before order could be restored. In 1704, Vaudreuil and Beauharnois wrote to the king: "The royal ordinance which prohibits the sale of liquors to the savages has been published, to the great pleasure of all honest people in the country. We will see to its execution in order to prevent the disorders flowing from that trade."

Mgr. de Laval was no longer bishop of Quebec but was still alive to see the triumph of his views.

The other important question to be settled was the erection of regular parishes. As has been said

about the foundation of the seminary, parishes were simple missions ministered to by priests of that institution, to which all tithes were to be paid. Frontenac, who had a dislike for the bishop, did not feel kindly towards his methods. We have already seen his criticism about the building of the seminary. He was afraid that this institution might grow too rich and, in consequence, he favoured the erection of canonical parishes with permanent pastors to whom tithes should be paid. This, in his eyes, would have the twofold good result, to diminish the influence of the seminary and the power of the bishop. The governors and intendants who succeeded him followed in his steps. Hence the instructions of the court for the erection of regular parishes in New France. It ruled that in future, contrary to the edict of 1663 to confirm the establishment of the seminary, all tithes were to be paid to resident parish priests no longer changeable according to the good pleasure of the bishop. And so Frontenac's ideas were triumphant in this question as in the other, but with the same negative result.

Mgr. de Laval was sincerely willing to set the ordinance of 1679 into execution. But none is bound to the impossible—*ad impossibile nemo tenetur*.

Before leaving Paris, in 1680, he made a deed conferring on his seminary, for the education of the Canadian youth, all that he possessed.

COMPLETE VISIT OF HIS DIOCESE

After his return, in order to see what could be done in this matter of the erection of parishes, he determined to make a complete visit of his diocese. He had already visited it, one part after another, several times, in more than twenty years of episcopacy. But he intended to go in one summer, through all the Catholic settlements. For a man of nearly sixty, suffering from bodily infirmities, especially if we consider the lack of all conveniences, it was no pleasure excursion.

After having, in May, 1681, made the canonical visit of the Ursulines and the Hôtel Dieu, and given confirmation in the cathedral, he went, on the 1st of June, to Lotbinière, and visited afterwards successively Batiscan, Champlain, Cap de la Madeleine, Three Rivers, Sorel, Chambly, Saint Ours, Contrecœur, Verchères, Boucherville, Repentigny, Lachenaie. He reached Montreal on the 16th of June.

After a visit to the Jesuits, at Laprairie, and to their Indian mission of Sault St. Louis, he came back to Montreal, where, on the 29th, the feast of St. Peter, he celebrated mass in the church of Notre Dame recently built by the Sulpicians. They, at the time, still occupied their old residence in front of the present custom-house; the seminary in which they now live was begun only in 1685.

The bishop visited the religious communities of the Congregation of Notre Dame and of the Sisters of St. Joseph and crossed to his seigniory of

the island of Jesus, where was then only one parish, St. François de Sales. On his way down to Quebec he stopped at Longueuil, Varennes, La Valtrie, Nicolet, Bécancour, Gentilly, St. Anne de la Pérade and Deschambault. Without taking a moment of rest in his seminary, he went to Isle aux Oies, more than sixty miles below Quebec, and thence crossing to the south shore paid visits to Cap St. Ignace, St. Thomas, St. Michel, Beaumont and St. Joseph de Lévis, the limit of his long pastoral voyage. The places he had frequently visited in previous years, as the Côte de Beaupré, the island of Orleans, Sillery, St. Foy and Lorette were omitted in 1681, and also, on account of the great distance, Tadoussac and Lamotte island in Lake Champlain, where he had been in 1668.

But the strain was too great for a man of his age, already exhausted by a life of anxieties, of continual strife, and, it may be added, of voluntary privations. He fell grievously sick on the 18th of August, eight days after his return. A memoir of the time says that during fifteen days his life was in danger. The records of the council mention his absence from the 18th of August to the 20th of October.

If Duchesneau had been in search of a means to sow discord between the bishop and the council, here it was found. But Duchesneau was friendly to Mgr. de Laval.

When he recovered, the prelate, with the help

of M. de Maizerets, who had accompanied him in his pastoral visit, began the task of preparing, from the notes he had written, a memoir on the establishment of regular parishes.

He had found a little more than one thousand souls. But the habitations were scattered over an immense territory, distant one from another, so that groups sufficient to form a parish were not easy to find. On the north coast, for instance, after the plan of the missions made in 1683, from Bay St. Paul to Montmorency river, two priests only ministered to a territory of nearly forty miles, where lived, at long distances, groups of three, nine, thirty, thirty-six, or thirty-eight families. On the south side it was still worse. M. Morel, the victim of the Sovereign Council, had for his share eighty miles, from Isles aux Oies to Rivière du Loup, while his young fellow-missionary, M. de St. Claude, had only seventy-five, from La Durantaye (St. Michel) to River Du Chesne! Was it possible to establish parishes on such a scale? or parishes which could afford either to build a church or support a pastor?

Nevertheless Mgr. de Laval showed good will. Frontenac and Duchesneau had been recalled in 1682 and replaced by M. de la Barre and M. de Meulles. The king having apprized the prelate of these nominations and expressed his own kind regards, he answered: "The honour Your Majesty has done me by writing to me that M. de Meulles

has orders to agree with me in all things, and to give all the help in his power is an evident proof of your kindness for this new church and for its bishop, and I feel obliged to testify my humble gratitude."

He added that, on his part, he would endeavour to concur with the intendant in order to fulfil the intentions of His Majesty.

About this question of the establishment of parishes, M. de Meulles could write to Minister Seignelay, son of Colbert: "We have worked hard, the bishop and myself, to form parishes in this country. I am sending the plan we have adopted. We are obliged for it to the bishop, who wishes the good of the country, and whom we may trust."

Jointly with the governor and the intendant, Mgr. de Laval determined what was required for subsistence of a parish priest, and a certain number of priests were appointed by the grand vicaire to the localities which seemed in suitable condition to support a residing pastor.

The intendant bears witness that the bishop had exhorted them "to be content with the simplest fare and with what was strictly necessary for maintenance."

In fact, no parish could afford a decent living unless it was given too great an extent. As for the article of the ordinance of 1679, which left to the seigneur and the inhabi-

tants to make up the deficiency of local tithes, it was considered as chimerical. The same ignorance of the true state of things in New France rendered equally useless another article which conceded the title of patron to owners of seigniories who would build churches. In 1681, Duchesneau wrote: "There is no private person in this country, able in any manner to build churches." To cover such expenses the king had to grant a sum of eight thousand livres out of his *Domaine d'Occident*, that is, the fur trade farm of Tadoussac, and the fourth part of the beaver skins. Two of the eight thousand were destined to relieve priests disabled by age or sickness, and twelve hundred, to help in the construction of churches. As long as the clergy remained united with the seminary, as they did until 1692, when Mgr. de Saint-Vallier obtained a separation, that institution received this amount and distributed it according to need. The bishop afterwards had it at his disposal, but it was reduced in 1707 to four thousand livres.

No wonder if it was difficult to establish regular parishes in 1680, when we hear in 1730, half a century later, Mgr. Dosquet saying: "Out of about one hundred parishes which form the diocese of Quebec, there are only twenty which have resident pastors. The remainder, among which very few are truly erected into parishes, are ministered to by simple missionaries."

Seignelay however testified his satisfaction and

benevolence to Mgr. de Laval for his exertions to comply with the desires of the king.

While the bishop was so heavily burdened by these difficult questions, unexpected trouble arose from other quarters.

The reader will remember that the Récollets had come back with Talon in 1670 and that their return, although good in itself, happened in awkward circumstances. They came uncalled for, and undesired by the bishop, and they were, in the views of Talon, destined to check the Jesuits and the prelate as well. The good friars had certainly not that intention, but they could not ignore it, and it was a dangerous allurement for the strong or the weak heads that might be found among them, as in every numerous body of men. Human nature which, even in the holiest, remains always the same, could but have its sway in the case: on the side of the bishop, a very natural distrust; on the friars' side, leaning on the protection of political power, a propensity to independence of episcopal authority, and immoderate pretensions. They belonged, besides, to what is called an *exempted order*, that is to say an order free in many things, but not in all, as we shall presently see, from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

Mgr. de Laval, however, had received them kindly and entrusted them with the missions of Three Rivers, Gaspesia and later of Fort Frontenac. Had they remained in the limits of their attribu-

tions, no trouble would have ensued. The first who came in 1670 did so, but some of their successors had not the same wisdom. There is no need here to relate at length the regrettable acts of disobedience which some of the friars committed. Let it suffice to say that in the liquor trade they did not, according to their duty, sustain the bishop. M. Dudouyt, then in Paris, wrote to Mgr. de Laval: "One of the most important and best intentioned among them went so far as to say that the chief evil was that the real cause of the prohibition remained unavowed: if the Jesuits and the bishop forbade the sale of liquors, it was to keep it all to themselves! The good fathers are so deeply imbued with that impression that whatever may be said against it, they would not give it up. They publish it in public and at the court; and M. de Frontenac, and such as follow his opinions, publish it in their turn in France and in Canada. You can imagine what effects such calumnies can have."

About the erection of parishes, already so difficult, and the paying of tithes, they contributed to increase the imbroglio by offering to minister gratuitously to the parishes. But parishioners would have had to give in alms what they were bound to give in tithes, for even a Récollet had to have food. What certainly cannot receive approval is that they did parochial ministry in several places without the permission of the

bishop. And this, although exempted, they had no right and no power to do.

They had also no right to build a monastery in the upper town against his will. They possessed a large one near the river St. Charles, but it was far from the habitations, unhandy for alms-asking, and for visiting families. The king, however, had allowed them twelve hundred livres of yearly pensions to prevent them from begging, but, maliciously remarks Latour, "it was to request too much from a mendicant Order." They were granted, in 1681, the ground of the Seneschal's Court, partly on the present site of the English cathedral and of the Place d'Armes, having around it the Château St. Louis, the Ursulines, the Jesuits and the cathedral. They first asked only for permission to build a sick ward because of the distance of their convent of Notre Dame des Anges from all medical aid. "But," says Latour, "the infirmary soon turned into a refectory, the refectory into a dormitory and the whole into a monastery."

The steeple and bell came later, to call the faithful to prayer. Four churches, the Jesuits', the Ursulines', the Hôtel Dieu, the cathedral, in a square of a few acres, were not sufficient for divine worship.

Every one is free to question the reasons the bishop might have to oppose the building of that monastery. But there cannot be any question about the disobedience of the good friars. The

steeple was taken down by order of the king, only to be rebuilt after some time.

Mgr. de Laval had still another opportunity of displaying wonderful patience. About that same time, when he vainly endeavoured to prevent the aforesaid construction, he invited one of the fathers to preach Advent in the cathedral. There is no better proof that he had no personal ill-will against the order. The disputes between Frontenac and Duchesneau had then attained their highest pitch. The good friar had the imprudence to allude in his sermons to such burning matters. The bishop warned him three times to abstain from personalities, because they could only increase enmities: "By speaking in the pulpit, as you do, of cabals, divisions, partiality between public persons, do you not expose yourself to be accused of siding with the governor, as one of your fathers has been already? The Church must remain neutral in such debates and differences. Preach peace, union, charity, virtue in a general way, without any personal application."

But the stubborn friar would not listen to reason. He answered that in the pulpit it was not he but the Holy Ghost that spoke by his mouth, that the word of God is not bound, and other such Scripture sentences which any enthusiast may always allege in behalf of his extravagances. The bishop was obliged to forbid him to preach, an act which the circumstances justified.

But such unhappy disputes, much to be regretted, indeed, were thrown into the shade by events of much greater consequence. To say nothing of a disastrous fire which, in the summer of 1682, destroyed the greatest part of the lower town, the country was again threatened with an Indian war.

M. de la Barre had instruction, when he came to New France in 1682, to go with a body of five hundred or six hundred militia men to the shores of Lake Ontario in order to make the Five Nations understand that he had the power to force them to keep peace. Wishing to acquire some knowledge of the country, he convoked, in October, 1682, a meeting of the chief citizens. Mgr. de Laval was present with several Jesuits and M. Dollier de Casson, superior of the Montreal seminary. Alarming facts were revealed: the Iroquois had already attacked the Illinois, allied to the French, and threatened them with entire destruction, as well as some other friendly nations. They were besides incited to war against the French by the English colonists. The colony could supply one thousand capable soldiers. But as during their absence the fields would have to remain uncultivated, it was desirable that they should be replaced by regulars. The assembly sent to the court a report with letters to ask for military help.

In the following year the state of things grew worse. Goods belonging to La Salle were pillaged by the Iroquois, and in February, 1684, fourteen

Frenchmen were attacked and despoiled of furs to an amount of sixteen thousand livres. The governor had written to France to obtain troops. Three companies of fifty men came in November, 1683. Mgr. de Laval had joined his entreaties to those of M. de la Barre. "Sire," wrote he, to the king, "the Marquess of Seignelay will inform your Majesty of the war the Iroquois have declared upon your subjects of New France, and will expose the necessity of sending a succour sufficient to destroy, if possible, an enemy who for long years has prevented the development of this colony. . . . Whereas it has pleased your Majesty to choose me to govern this new Church, I feel more obliged than any one to expound its necessities."

After the arrival of the soldiers he wrote again: "The troops Your Majesty has sent to protect us against the Iroquois, the ground you have granted in the lower town for the construction of a chapel and the funds you have given to rebuild the steeple of the cathedral and for the maintenance of the parish priests, are so many graces that oblige me to testify my gratitude and give me hope that your Majesty will continue to our Church his royal benevolence."

The expedition of M. de la Barre unhappily proved a failure. He was an old man and unfitted to lead a military campaign. Hunger and sickness, in a place which has kept the ill-omened name of Famine Cove on the south east end of Lake

Ontario, induced him to accept a shameful treaty of peace, by which he abandoned to the revenge of the Iroquois the allies of the French and pledged his word to embark on the day following the signing of the treaty.

That sad event told heavily on Mgr. de Laval. He foresaw its evil consequences, and chiefly the destruction of the missions among the Five Nations with a new era of bloodshed.

It is not impossible that such an outlook had a certain weight on his decision of returning to France and of resigning his bishopric. But he had other reasons: painful infirmities contracted in the hardships of his visits through an immense diocese, amidst difficulties and privations of all sorts; the continual strife required to protect his flock against powerful ill-doers; the impossibility of complying with the minister's exigency for the erection of parishes. He thought in his humility that, to bear the burden, younger shoulders were necessary and that another bishop would do more than himself for the salvation of souls. He also, perhaps, felt, after twenty-five years of episcopacy and of continual labours and anxieties, that need of retirement, of solitude, so natural to men of prayer or of study.

Before leaving Quebec, perhaps for ever, he testified his love for his seminary by giving eight thousand livres for the immediate construction of the chapel which was part of the original plan.

He declared in the deed: "My will is to be interred in that chapel and, if God dispose of my life in this voyage, that my corpse be brought back there. I also desire that the chapel be opened to the public."

He gave in the meantime four thousand livres to build the church of St. Joachim on the site now called the *Grande Ferme*, where was the famous school of art and trades. Finally, to complete the organization of his church, he erected a Chapter. In his mandement of the 6th of November, 1684, after having recalled the origin of Chapters, the state of his church and the gift of the abbeys of Maubec and Lestrées by the king to the bishopric of Quebec, he declared his determination to establish a Chapter of twelve canons and four chaplains. M. de Bernières had the dignity of dean and M. de Maizerets, that of archdeacon. Five of the canons were born in the country. They had no prebends, but being priests of the seminary were to live in the same spirit of voluntary poverty as before.

The installation took place with great solemnity, in the presence of the governor, the intendant, the councillors, the garrison and almost all the citizens, on the 12th of November.

Two days later Mgr. de Laval sailed for France.

CHAPTER XVIII

LAST YEARS OF THE GREAT BISHOP

THE first care of Mgr. de Laval after his arrival in Paris was to offer his resignation. The king, well aware of his merit, would not at first accept it, but, on the entreaties of the prelate, finally yielded, and, as a proof of his esteem, entrusted him with the choice of his successor. After having taken advice from Father Valois, a Jesuit, he chose the Abbé de Saint-Vallier, who had been for ten years a chaplain of the court and was noted for his piety, his zeal and his irreproachable conduct. The king agreed, but on account of the difficulties already mentioned between France and Rome the nomination was confirmed by the Pope only several years later. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was consecrated on the 25th of January, 1688, and Mgr. de Laval remained to that date bishop of Quebec. Until he could get his title, the Abbé de Saint-Vallier became vicaire-general of the old prelate and crossed to Canada in 1685. In the meantime, M. de Denonville was appointed successor to M. de la Barre. "I hope," wrote Mgr. de Laval to Pope Innocent XI, "that both will repair the faults committed by others and particularly by myself."

These last words were dictated by humility.

The Church of Canada had greatly improved under his firm and wise direction. The Abbé de Saint-Vallier, after having seen with his own eyes the work that had been done, wrote to one of his friends: "It seemed to me that I saw reviving in the Church of New France something of that spirit of disinterestedness, which formed the chief beauty of the Church of Jerusalem in the time of the Apostles."

To Mgr. de Laval himself he wrote: "All my regret is that in the Canadian Church, I have been left no more good to do."

The old prelate had no intention to remain in France. His desire was to spend his remaining years in his seminary, among his friends of the Caen hermitage, and there to prepare for death. When asking for permission from the minister, Seignelay, he wrote: "If I return to Canada, it is to finish my life in repose, in the midst of my Church. I hope that, far from being an obstacle to peace, I shall be a bond of perfect union."

It was, however, judged better that he should remain in France until M. de Saint-Vallier was established in Canada, and the king granted him a living of two thousand livres from the bishopric of Aire. He remained until 1688, and employed usefully his time for the welfare of New France. He sent workmen to M. de Saint-Vallier to rebuild the cathedral's steeple, and encouraged some good priests to go and work in the seminary.

MONSEIGNOR DE SAINT-VALLIER

From an original painting

In 1685, he wrote to the directors of that institution: "It is urgent to work this year to rebuild the church of Sainte Anne du Petit Cap, for which all the people of Canada have such a devotion. The clearing of the lands of St. Joachim must also be pushed on in order that the farms may provide for the wants of the house." He was anxious that the surplus tithes should be applied to the con struction of country churches.

The king used to grant every year a gratuity of three thousand livres to form dowries of fifty livres each, for the poor girls who married in Canada. Mgr. de Laval obtained another substantial gift for the poor colonists, whose destitution he had himself witnessed. Sending it to the seminary he wrote: "That money should be distributed by small sums of fifty or sixty livres, to poor families scattered throughout the districts and charged with numerous children who sometimes are obliged to sleep under the same blankets as their parents."

The state of the colony in 1687 became so unstable that M. de Brisacier, superior of the Foreign Missions in Paris, wrote to the Seminary of Quebec: "New France has been on the verge of being abandoned this year. . . . It will certainly be given up some day if to the bad state of the colony is joined misunderstanding among those who should foster union. Whatever may happen, remain united to the bishop, to the Jesuits, to the

Sulpicians, in order not to lay yourselves open to attack; if you are divided you are lost."

Better news happily came in the fall and renewed the confidence of the minister. Denonville had made during the summer a successful campaign against the Senecas, destroyed their villages and immense quantities of corn. That nation lost a great number of warriors in the fight and many more starved to death during the following winter. But if the military success equalled that of M. de Tracy's expedition, the result was not so happy. Two Jesuits were in the Iroquois missions, Father de Lamberville among the Onondagas and Father Milet among the Oneidas. All the warlike preparations had been carefully kept from their knowledge, so that they relied on peace and sincerely vouched for the pacific intentions of the French. When news reached the Five Nations of the capture of two of their chiefs, who, in every confidence of the friendship of the French, were proceeding to Montreal, and of the arrest, at Fort Frontenac, of their tribesmen of Kenté, the rage of these proud and revengeful savages was aroused. The innocent Jesuits were in danger for their lives. Father Milet was bound to a stake and even subjected to torture, when he was saved by a squaw, who adopted him as her son. As for Father de Lamberville, he was so much beloved by the Onondagas that in a council a chief told him: "We have a right to kill thee, but we cannot resolve to do it.

We believe that thou art not guilty. It is better though for thee to go away." And they gave him an escort to protect him until he was out of danger. But, far from being induced to make peace, the enraged Indians were determined to wreak a bloody revenge for their burnt villages and their tribesmen sent to the galleys. Much uneasiness reigned, therefore, in the colony, and M. de Denonville greatly desired the return of the old bishop. When preparing his expedition he had already written to the minister: "I am obliged to tell you that Mgr. de Laval, the ancient bishop, would be of great help here. It seems to me that he possessed so deeply the hearts of all the people, that his presence would be useful to engage them to do willingly what otherwise it would be necessary to constrain them to do."

He wrote now: "In the present state of public affairs, it is necessary that the former bishop return to manage the spirits over whom, by his genius and his reputation for holiness, he has a great ascendency."

Mgr. de Laval, early in the spring of 1688, even before Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was ready to start, sailed for Canada and reached Quebec on the 3rd of June. It was a great joy for all the population, because his virtues, his long and painful labours, his sincere love for his flock, had made him dear to all Canadians.

He was no more a member of the council, he

had no more to govern the Church of New France; he was to lead a life of retreat, of silence, of prayer, but not without influence on the events from 1688 to 1708. He had his lodgings in the priest-house built by M. de Bernières, which was part of the seminary. A *donné*, that is to say a man who engaged himself to serve the seminary without wages, became his servant. His name was Hubert Houssard. He had come with Mgr. de Laval in 1688, and remained with him to the end of his life. He has left a pious and interesting relation of these twenty years in a letter to M. Tremblay, a priest of the seminary who managed their affairs in France.

According to that eye-witness, Mgr. de Laval, during fifteen years, as had been his habit during thirty before, rose at two o'clock in the morning even in winter, and at three, during the five last years of his life, in a room without a fire, dressed alone and bandaged without help his legs swollen with varicose veins. After long prayers, he went, at four o'clock, lantern in hand, to open the church door, rang the bell for the mass he said at half-past four to suit the workmen, and protracted his thanksgiving until seven. The vestry-room where he prayed was no better heated than the church itself. The wonder is that so aged a man could bear the cold. It would seem beyond credence if it were not a well known fact that in this country churches had no fireplaces before the

beginning of the eighteenth century. Yet this did not suffice for his piety and his spirit of mortification. On Sundays he regularly attended grand mass and vespers in the cathedral, to the great edification of the parishioners, who had almost no other opportunity of seeing him, and who looked up to him with gratitude and veneration as to a father and a friend.

Moreover, according to Hubert Houssard, he liked to be present at the funerals of the citizens of Quebec, whom he had almost all personally known. Some had generously helped him in his undertakings and in his battles for righteousness. Some might have been his adversaries, have favoured, or even been engaged in, the liquor trade; he, nevertheless, went to offer prayers at their graves. Nothing touched more deeply the hearts of the inhabitants.

His days were spent in work or in pious exercises. At night, he prolonged his vigils, praying for such as could not or would not do it for themselves, and asking forgiveness for those that so frequently profited by those hours of darkness to indulge in their evil passions.

As he slept only a few hours, he paced up and down during the recitation of his breviary and of his beads, for fear that if he sat down or knelt he might feel drowsy. In summer, he was accustomed, as a mortification, to recite these prayers, without protection, in the full glare of the sun.

His bed was a simple mattress on hard boards

without sheets, and he did not suffer fleas to be shaken from his poor woolen blankets. Under pretence that his teeth could not afford to chew fresh meat, or his stomach digest it, he ate some that had been cooked eight days before and was at times swarming with worms. And so he mortified all natural inclinations and deprived himself of all bodily comfort.

But while he was so cruel to himself he proved most kind to others. He had a small store of stuffs, —linen, blankets, clothes,—which he bought out of his little savings, and his greatest pleasure was to give them to the poor, who were always welcomed by him and who, with material help, always received a piece of pious and paternal advice. Once he met on the street in winter time a poor child half-naked and shivering with cold; he led him to the priest-house, washed and kissed his feet, gave him shoes, stockings, a complete suit of clothes and sent him home as content as himself.

Of his silver-plate two pieces only remained. One day in 1697 Father Gravier, missionary among the Illinois, paid a visit to the old bishop, whose golden jubilee, that is to say the fiftieth year of his ordination, was being celebrated. He spoke of the poverty of his mission, and the remaining silver goblet and plate went to the silversmith to be changed into a ciborium for the poor missionary.

When Mgr. de Laval had stripped himself of everything, his only regret was that he had not more to give.

A lover of poverty for himself, in his clothes, furniture, food, he loved the beauty of God's temple and the magnificence of the Church ceremonies. With the help of the pupils of both seminaries the offices of the Quebec cathedral were celebrated, not only with decency, but with real splendour.

"The divine service," wrote the intendant, Champigny, "is performed at the church of Quebec in a perfect manner by the bishops and their ecclesiastics."

One of the chief pleasures of Mgr. de Laval was to be in the company of his seminarists. He had for them a paternal affection and watched over them with great attention and continual vigilance. As they had to follow the classes in the Jesuits' College, he frequently went with them to encourage their efforts and observe their progress in the sciences. He sometimes took a share in their recreations in order to know every one's temper and to be able to advise them with a greater certainty in their choice of a future career.

The old bishop considered his seminary as the great work of his life and as the foundation of the Canadian Church. He therefore felt bitter sorrow when he saw that the successor he had chosen, looked at the institution with quite a different

eye. Contentions between Mgr. de Saint-Vallier and the priests of the seminary had begun as early as 1685. They are easy to understand if we remember what share, in the plans of Mgr. de Laval, that institution had not only in the formation but in the government of the Church of Canada. For the founder himself, it is possible that things might have always gone on peacefully and smoothly. But was another bishop likely to bear that his authority should be to such an extent controlled and limited?

Instead of residing in the seminary, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, as early as 1688, bought from François Provost, commander of the castle St. Louis, for fifteen thousand livres, a beautiful piece of ground, with one of the finest houses in Quebec, on the east side of Mountain Hill. It is now Montmorency Park. It was a part of the Couillard estate, had belonged to Mme. de Monceaux, to her son-in-law, the councillor d'Auteuil, who built the house, to Intendant Talon and finally to Major Provost. Next to it was, from 1655, the burying ground of the Quebec parish. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier obtained permission from the churchwardens to exchange it for another lot of land on Desjardins street. On that magnificent site he began to build the vast palace which he was to occupy but seldom, and his successors still less than himself, and which Providence destined to be the first parliament house of Quebec. He gave

to his episcopal palace such large proportions because he intended to take the seminarists with him and to withdraw them from the guidance of the seminary priests. That design happily was never brought into execution. But the seminary itself was to receive a complete modification.

With this in view, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier went to France in 1691. In 1692, the new regulations were published. The chief changes were that no country parish in future could be united with the seminary but by the authority of the bishop. As for the Quebec parish, the legality of the deed of union was to be examined. Priests had no longer the right, without the bishop's permission, to leave their parishes to come to the seminary. No priest could become a member of the institution without his consent, as none but distinguished subjects, and on the same condition, could make an expropriation or a renunciation of his properties. The number of the directors was reduced to five, named by the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris with approval of the bishop.

By some additional articles Mgr. de Saint-Vallier obtained that his library, which he had given to the seminary, should be given back and that the institution could lay no claim on the sacred vases given to the missions or on the furniture placed in the priest-houses. He returned triumphant in August, 1692, with fourteen Récollets and several ecclesiastics.

The seminary simply yielded to the new state of things, which reduced it to the condition of an ordinary house for ecclesiastical formation. If the change had been made with a spirit of moderation and of charity, no fault could be found with it. The organization of the Canadian Church by Mgr. de Laval, admirable as it was, with that spirit of disinterestedness in all its members who consented to possess nothing of their own, could be convenient only for the first years when the clergy were not numerous. When the number of priests increased a modification became necessary. Unhappily Mgr. de Saint-Vallier applied his measures with the harshness of his violent and imperious temper and caused much unnecessary trouble. Some of his letters to the seminary would do him little honour if they were ever published, as for instance, when he says that he would not be contented until he had deprived them of their last mouthful of bread! He moreover appropriated many things that did not properly belong to him. But peace to his ashes!

Mgr. de Laval was greatly pained by these actions, but exhorted his friends and sons to submission. He could not, however, abstain from complaining in the intimacy of friendship. M. de Denonville, who admired and loved him, wrote to him a beautiful letter of consolation: "The Lord," he said, "visits you in the most tender parts of your heart. You have given your proper-

ties, your life, your labours to a Church that you love: you receive there crosses; they shall sanctify you and become in the meantime the best foundation of that Church. I see only one thing to do, it is to have patience, hoping that God will not destroy what you began for His honour."

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier had obtained from the king permission to send back to France M. de Maizerets and M. Glandelet, if he were not pleased with their conduct. He would have had the permission registered by the Sovereign Council, had he not been prevented by an order from the king: "What a scandal," said d'Auteuil, the attorney-general, although not friendly to the seminary, "what a scandal if he set his threat into execution! The people are wont to consider these priests as their fathers."

The troublesome bishop caused not only the clergy to be discontented. He found means to quarrel with every one in the colony; with the Récollets, whose church in Montreal he had interdicted after his disputes with Callières about a prayer-stool; with the officers, whom he had severely reprimanded in a mandement about the pay of militiamen; with Frontenac, protector of the Récollets, to whom he had at first testified friendly regards. He had even made him churchwarden of honour! But the governor was not the man to agree for long with a temper of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier's cast. He even got up, at great expense, the

play of *Tartuffe* to be acted in the castle St. Louis and in the religious communities. The bishop is said to have given one hundred pistoles to prevent the performance.

He suspended, by an arbitrary measure, from the right of hearing confessions and preaching, priests universally revered, M. de Bernières, M. de Maizerets, and M. Glandelet. Memoirs were sent to the court against him from all quarters. One, from M. de la Colombière, a distinguished Sulpician, who had become a member of the Quebec seminary and a canon, was presented to the king by Father de la Chaise, his confessor. In the spring of 1694, the archbishop of Paris wrote to Mgr. de Saint-Vallier that "the king allowed him to make that year a voyage to France and that the royal intention was that he should not too much postpone his coming."

This was a euphemism for an order. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier sailed at the end of October, 1694.

But these troubles of a spiritual kind were not the only ones from which Mgr. de Laval had to suffer. He felt sadly the misfortunes that befell the colony. In 1689, took place the dreadful massacre of Lachine by the Iroquois. Over a space of more than nine miles all the houses were burnt and more than three hundred French killed and tortured with refinements of cruelty unknown before. Describing the horrible details of the tragedy, M. de Belmont, superior of St. Sulpice added: "God

has employed the Iroquois as ministers of his justice, for that parish of Lachine had been the worst theatre of the drunkenness of the Indians."

The Iroquois happily did not continue their ravages. But, in the fall of the same year, just at the beginning of Frontenac's second administration, a direful famine reduced the colony to great distress: there was, however, no loss of life.

The year 1690 brought other anxieties and other terrors. Acadia fell into the hands of the English and Phipps besieged Quebec. To conquer Canada, according to the word of Bancroft, was the ruling passion of New England. But they were not to succeed this time. Frontenac managed affairs with such skill and courage that Phipps suffered an ignominious defeat. It is to be remarked that forty pupils of the seminary, on holidays at St. Joachim, asked to be allowed to fight the enemy, and behaved so well at Beauport that the English troops which had landed there hastened back to their boats, leaving behind their ammunition and two guns.

In 1697 Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was still in France, detained by order of the king, who insisted upon obtaining his resignation. Every one, churchmen as well as statesmen, on this and on the other side of the ocean, wished that he should give it. Mgr. de Laval wrote to M. Tremblay: "He cannot change but by a miracle of grace and conversion; and marks of the contrary are so clear that they

leave no place for doubt. His return would be the greatest evil for this Church."

To the bishop himself, who entreated him to obtain permission for him to return to Canada, Father La Chaise answered with severity: "You will return and you will be towards these priests the same you have ever been. You will sanctify yourself and sanctify others by making martyrs. Your fits of anger, which you try to justify by your good intentions, are a cause of suffering for every one."

He however stuck to his mitre and moved heaven and earth to be allowed to return to New France. He made all sorts of fine promises to the Seminary of Quebec. He entreated the communities to pray and ask that he should be restored to his dear church. He even wrote to Mgr. de Laval to obtain his intercession with the king. The saintly old bishop answered by a long, sincere, fatherly letter. Having recalled the state of peace in which Mgr. de Saint-Vallier had found the Canadian Church, by his own avowal, and the state of trouble in which he had left it, Mgr. de Laval concluded that in conscience he could not ask for his return.

The king, however, after having taken the advice of distinguished prelates, asked again, about the middle of lent, 1697, for the resignation of the bishop of Quebec. When he saw that it was in vain, he said: "Well, you will return; but see to

establish peace in your Church. Otherwise I will take measures to bring you back to France for good."

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier landed in Quebec in September, 1697. One of the good things he did after his arrival was the establishment, with the help of Mgr. de Laval, of a mission among the Tamarois, a tribe of the Illinois. Three priests of the Seminary, M. de Montigny, M. Buisson de Saint-Cosme and M. Davion, were sent there in 1698. The Jesuits had already missions among the Indians, but the field was immense and the new missionaries were careful not to interfere in their labours. The priests of the Seminary of Quebec worked among the Tamarois for many years and the celebrated historian Charlevoix had the pleasure of being their guest during his long voyage through North America in 1720-21.

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier returned to France in 1700. He was not again to see his venerable predecessor alive. Retained by the king until 1704, afterwards a prisoner in England, 1704-09, he could then return to France, but was not allowed to leave before 1713.

During his absence the old bishop fulfilled such episcopal functions as were necessary, making ordinations and conferring the sacrament of confirmation. He even went to Montreal for that purpose five years before his death. He himself conferred extreme unction upon good Governor de

Callières, suddenly stricken in church by a deadly ailment in 1703.

But trials were still in store for Mgr. de Laval. In 1701 he saw his seminary destroyed by fire. France, engaged in the fatal war of the Spanish Succession, could do very little to help in the work of its reconstruction. However, such was the courage of the priests and the good will of the colonists, that the building was nearly finished when, by the imprudence of a workman, it was again almost entirely burnt in 1705. On both occasions the cathedral had happily been saved.

Mgr. de Laval lived long enough to see the great work of his life, the chief object of his labours, his first love on earth, risen from its ruins. A small room with an oratory in the part of the building spared by fire, was prepared for him, and there he piously spent his last days.

During Holy Week, 1708, assisting according to his use, at the long offices, in the church without fire, one of his feet got seriously frozen. He was in his eighty-sixth year and the accident proved fatal. He breathed his last on the 6th of May, 1708, amidst universal regrets.

Charlevoix, who was then in Quebec, a professor in the Jesuits' College, wrote some years later: "I have seen that saintly prelate, in his last years, still preserving that evangelical simplicity which rendered so venerable the successors of the Apostles; I have had the consolation, in receiving

his last breath, to see a life consecrated to the hardest labours of apostleship, finishing by a saintly death."

He died in the odour of sanctity, and brother Houssard relates how all people wished to have something that had belonged to him, or at least something that had touched his body.

The obsequies were celebrated with the greatest solemnity. All the communities in Quebec wished to see once more the corpse of him who had been their beloved father. The venerable remains were therefore translated first to the church of the Récollets, and successively to the Ursulines, the Jesuits, the Hôtel Dieu and brought back to the cathedral, where was sung the requiem mass. Eulogies were pronounced, one by M. Glandelet, dean of the Chapter, on the day of the funeral, and another, on the 4th of June, thirty days later, by M. de la Colombière. M. de Belmont, superior of the Sulpicians delivered also, in the church of Montreal, an oration in praise of the life labours and virtues of Mgr. de Laval.

The prelate in his will had requested that he be buried in the chapel of the seminary. As it had been destroyed by the fire of 1701 and was not yet rebuilt, the burial took place in the cathedral. His desire was to be fulfilled only one hundred and sixty-nine years later, when in 1877 the lead coffin containing his body was accidentally discovered. Then took place a celebration

which recalled the touching demonstration of 1708, with the difference that, instead of a few hundred people, several thousands of citizens, priests, bishops, followed the solemn procession which bore through the streets of Quebec, to the cathedral, and then to the chapel of the seminary, the precious remains. One of the eighty bishops occupying sees in what had been the diocese of Mgr. de Laval, delivered an eloquent address. The bones carefully wrapped in wax and silk were afterwards deposited in a vault of the seminary chapel.

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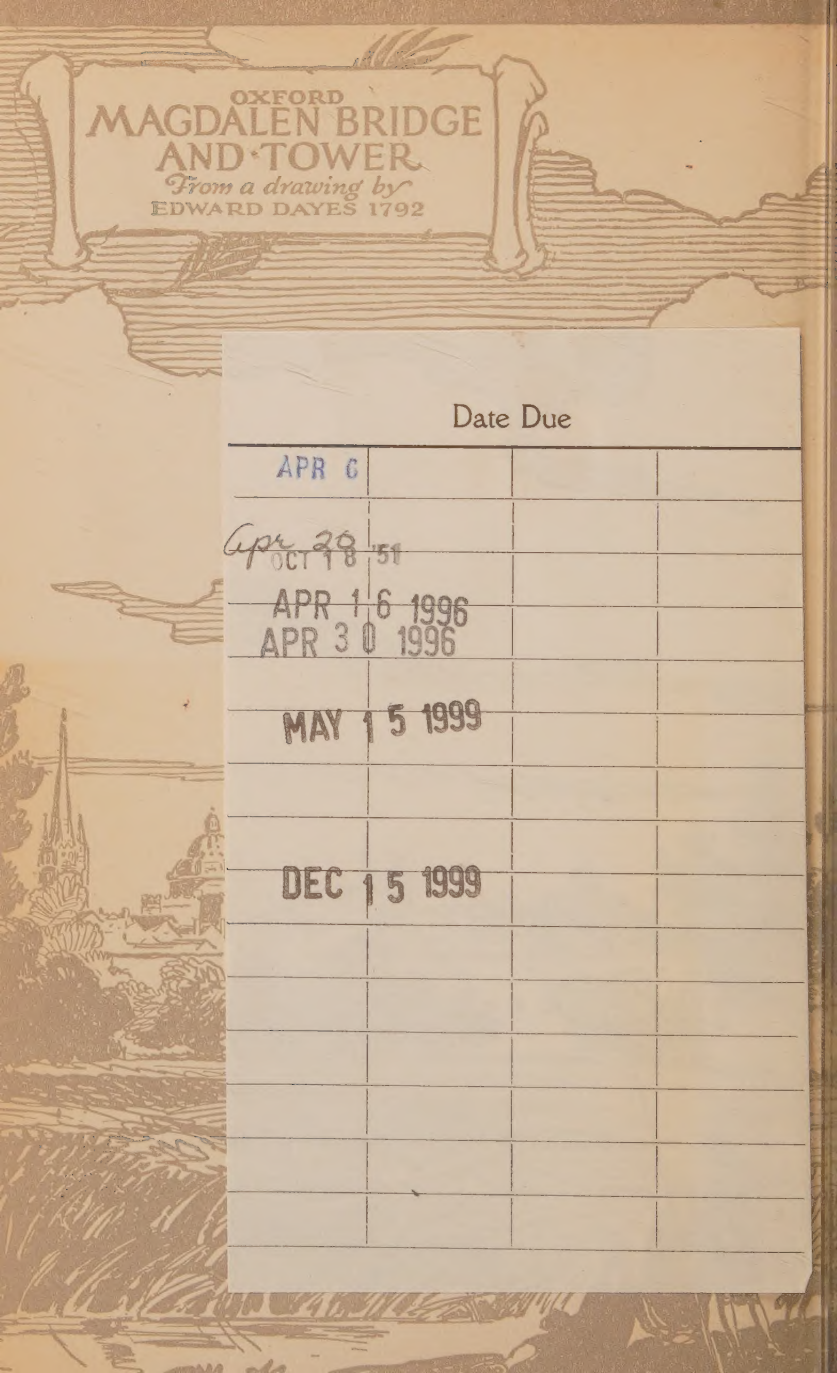

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